GOVERNMENT OF KARNATAKA

75 आज़ादी का अमृत महोत्सव

ANINDITH GOWDA KOCHI BAARIKE

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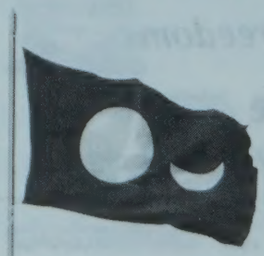
RECALLING AMARA SULYA

BALIDAN OF BRAVE TULUVAS FOR INDIA'S FREEDOM

Karnataka Tulu Sahitya Academy, Mangaluru



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Recalling Amara Sulya

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ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷರು

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Date: 10.06.2022

"If Bharata that is India is the prayer room of the world

Then, Tuluva soil is the prayer room of Bharata."

The rituals of Nagaaradhane (worship of the sacred Cobras), Daivaaraadhane (worship of Tutelary Spirits) and Prakriti-Aaradhane (worship of Nature) are the exclusive specialities found in the Tuluva soil for aeons together.

There have been distinguished individuals who have conducted extensive studies on the unique ritual of Tulunadu's Daivaaradhane and gained special experience as a result.

Geographically, the region of Tulunadu is rich in vegetation. From the UNESCO designated world heritage site of the Western Ghats at one end to the waves felt at the Western Coast of India, Taulava Mother's sovereignty historically ranged from Rameshwaram deep South, right up to Ankola at the top. In contemporary times, the region is blessed to be well connected with Air, Marine and Rail means of transport.

This territory until the waning period of colonial shackles (1799 - 1947) was considered a part of the then Madras Presidency. Post-independence, the states of Independent India were being drawn on linguistic lines. The Pancha-Dravida languages (prominent five Dravidian Languages) include Tulu, Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam and Tamil. Of these, four of them excluding Tulu got all the recognition along with separate states based on their language, while Tulu was left out from gaining justice even after the end of European colonial administration over Indian soil. While a part of what historically had existed as Tulunad (It is learnt from history that as early as the last 500 -750 years ago, Tuluva was the name of a province in the Vijayanagara Empire) was handed over to the newly formed state of Kerala, another part was handed over to the region

traditionally belonging to the Marathas. What was left in between went on to become what is now known as coastal Karnataka rather than being addressed as Tulunad as it had been known for millennia.

This has been the pain of Tuluvas.

Not just that, when the Kannadigas demanded that Kasargod should belong to the newly formed Karnataka State (stating that it had always been a part of the Kannada Naadu), the Tuluvas at the region had collectively supported the cause of accession of Kasargod to Karnataka State. Inspired by Indian Independence activist and famed literature laureate, Late Kayyara Kinyanna Rai's legendary quote 'Benki Biddhide Manege', despite being native speakers of the Tulu language, the people in that region had registered themselves as Kannadigas during the official documentation procedures. This act of solidarity bears testimony to the large hearted nature of the Tuluvas. Although this benefited Kannada to a certain extent, Tulu had to accept a backseat due to the same. In the census list, such reasons paved the way for showing a downward slope in the count of Tulu speakers.

Notably, our Independent India is observing the Amrit Mahotsav - 75 years since the obtainment of political Independence. Upon turning the pages of history backwards from this point in time, it is learnt that the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 is addressed as the first war of Indian independence. But, a deeper introspection over the subject of revolutionary movements for India's Independence reveals that twenty years before the Sepoy Mutiny, a massive movement had erupted in Tulunadu itself!

Gaining its initial spark from what is known as Bellare (an important town on the Eastern part of Tulunadu; referred to as Buleri Puddottu in the Tulu Folklore), the movement had received widespread acceptance from all of Tulunadu to such an extent that on the 5th of April 1837, all who gathered for the cause of freedom from Britishers had not only succeeded in lowering the flag representing the East India Co.'s presence over this soil but were also able to drive the Britishers away for subsequent 13 days!

While the British East India Co. went so far as to erase any memories lingering from that incident, the people of Sulya have always recalled the movement with great honour as the Amara Sulya Freedom Movement of 1837.

From 05 April 1837 onwards, the place where the British flag was lowered and the flag representing a Free India at Tulunad, situated in the heart of Mangaluru city came to be called Baavutagudde.

Later when the British East India Co. resorted to using force against our freedom fighters, some of the prominent leaders were hanged at the periphery of what is now known as Bikarnakatte in Mangaluru (Back then the area is said to have been known as Bikkooru Naigara Katte - Bangeragudde). Bangeragudde is the small hillock adjacent to Bikarnakatte, overlooking the city. At this place having a significant height from the ground up, the bodies were left for birds of prey to feed upon. This inhumane act by the then British East India Co. is just a part of the countless crimes against humanity that colonialism had waged in various parts of the world.

This movement in history is a testament to the coming together of Tuluvas. This is a significant anti-colonial movement in world history which saw the Valiance and Sacrifice of not one or two individuals, but thousands and thousands of individuals on this soil. This certainly shall be remembered as the price paid for true freedom that the subsequent generations are enjoying at present. In Tulu, this supreme sacrifice to the soil that is revered as one's mother is termed 'Taulaverna Rakthatharpane' (Brave Tuluvas that paid the price of freedom over one's soil with their blood).

Although some books have been authored about this significant historic incident, the Karnataka Tulu Sahitya Academy always expected such material to be available in the public domain, which, along with the primary source of history, wields the potential to provide clarity over the subject. I'm glad to announce that, Respected Anindith Gowda Kochi Baarike has succeeded in this feat.

I'm sure that this book, 'Recalling Amara Sulya' Balidan of Brave Tuluvas for India's Freedomby Anindith, shall leave an impression on many minds in the times to come.

Since the book is in English, that medium of expression shall ensure the book's reach is facilitated globally.

Therefore, I humbly thank Anindith Gowda Kochi Baarike for coming up with this pioneering book. Words can never express gratitude to his parents, Sri Sudhakar Kochi and Smt. Vijayalakshmi. They had been the rock of support for their son during the last four years when he spent his time discovering previously unknown aspects of the subject matter.

I wish to extend my special appreciation to all others that have been a part of this project in their capacity - directly or indirectly. I am profusely indebted to Ashwitha Shetty of Digantha Mudrana Ltd. for typesetting this first-of-its-kind English book published by the Karnataka

Tulu Sahitya Academy. I am thankful to Pradeep Batheri at Tarjani Communications Pvt. Ltd., Mangaluru, for designing the cover page of this book.

Anindith had often mentioned Sri Akshay Alva, a practising advocate at Mangaluru. Advocate Alva was a true friend and constant supporter of Anindith when he took four years to put this book together.

Anindith Gowda Kochi Baarike is a media graduate working for a private advertising agency in Mangaluru. His upbringing and education were both in Mangaluru. He hails from the traditional Tuluva manor house of the Kochi Baarike titular lineage, located around the intersection between Puttur and Sulya taluks in Dakshina Kannada District of Karnataka (near Bellare, the birthplace of the movement). It is as though the connection to the past remains intact through his bloodline. He felt the history was obscure due to the links, recollections from back home, and the folklore surrounding the 1837 movement. Observing this peculiar martial trait in his surroundings led him to trace the history. His journey took him on unexpected turns, which led him to record and share his observations. He is the first student from his alma mater to have completed its first Undergraduate Student Research Project on Indian Warriors, their cultural influences on one another and their quality of being unlike others. It is noteworthy that even at a tender age, he has demonstrated interest in studying primary sources of the history of 1837 and can present his study in the form of a book. On the occasion of Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav, as India celebrates its 75th year of Independence, Anindith's book tells the untold story of valour on Tuluva soil for India's freedom.

I invoke the blessings of all Daivas of Tulunadu, the divine power(s) in which his forefathers placed their faith, and the blessings of the revered Tulu Appe.

I pray that he and his investigations will produce more thoroughly researched works in the future.

My Sincere Wishes.

Jai Hind, Jai Tulunadu.

Dayananda G. Kathalsar

President, Karnataka Tulu Sahitya Academy

PRESIDENT
KARNATAKA TULU SAHITYA ACADEMY
MANGALORE

ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯದ ಅಮೃತ ಮಹೋತ್ಸವ

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ಸಂದೇಶ

ಒಂದ್ ದೀರ್ಘ ಕಾಲದ ಹೋರಾಟದ ಕಾರಣಂದ ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಸಕ್ಕೆ 1947 ಆಗಸ್ಟ್ 15 ರಂದ್ ಸ್ವಾಂತಂತ್ರ್ಯ ಸಿಕ್ಕಿತ್. ಜೆನಗ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನ ಸಂದರ್ಭಲಿ 1857ರ ನಂತರದ ಹೋರಾಟನ ನೆನ್ಪ್ ಮಾಡಿಕಂಡವೆ. ಆದರೆ ಅದ್ಕೆಂತ ಹಿಂದೆ ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಸಲಿ ಹಳ್ಳಿ ಹಳ್ಳಿಲಿ ಬ್ರಿಟೀಸರ ಎದ್ರ್ ಹೋರಾಟ ಮಾಡಿ ಭಾರತ ಮಾತೆಯ ಮುಕ್ತಿಗೆ ಬಲಿದಾನ ಮಾಡ್ದವೋ ತುಂಬಾ ಜೆನಗ ಒಳ, ಅಂತ ಒಂದ್ ಹೋರಾಟ ನಮ್ಮ ನೆಲಲ್ಲಿ ನಡ್ದುಟ್ಟು ಎಂಬುದು ಹೆಮ್ಮೆಯ ಸಂಗತಿ.

ಭಾರತ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯೋತ್ಸವದ ಅಮೃತ ಮಹೋತ್ಸವ ಆಚರ್ಸ್ತಾ ಇರ್ವ ಈ ಹೊತ್ತ್ಲಲ್ಲಿ ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಸದ ನೂರಾರು ಹಳ್ಳಿಲಿ ನಡ್ದ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯ ಹೋರಾಟನ ಜೆನಗಳಿಗೆ ಪರಿಚಯ ಮಾಡ್ಸುವ ಕೆಲ್ಸನ ಈ ವರ್ಸ ಭಾರತ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಮತ್ತೆ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ಸರಕಾರ ಮಾಡ್ತ ಉಟ್ಟು. ಇಂತ ಸಂದರ್ಭಲಿ ಅನಿಂದಿತ್ ಗೌಡ ಕೊಚ್ಚಿ ಬಾರಿಕೆ ಇವು ಕೊಡಗು ಮತ್ತು ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಕನ್ನಡ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಲಿ ಬ್ರಿಟೀಸರ ಎದ್ರ್ ನಡ್ದ ಹೋರಾಟದ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಪುಸ್ತಕ ತರ್ತಾ ಇರ್ದು ಕುಸಿನ ಸಂಗತಿ. ಅಮರ ಸುಳ್ಯ ಹೋರಾಟ, ಕೊಡಗು-ಕೆನರಾ ಬಂಡಾಯ ಹಿಂಗೆ ಬೇರೆ ಬೇರೆ ಹೆಸರ್ಲಿ ಕರ್ಸಿಕಂಡ ಈ ಹೋರಾಟದ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಇಂಗ್ಲೀಷ್ ಬಾಸೆಲಿ ಬರ್ತಾ ಇರುವ ಈ ಪುಸ್ತಕ ಕನ್ನಡದ ನೆಲದ ಆಚೆಗೆ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯ ಹೋರಾಟಲಿ ನಮ್ಮೂರ್ನ ಇತಿಹಾಸ ಪರಿಚಯ ಮಾಡ್ತಾ ಇರ್ದು ಒಳ್ಳೆ ಸಂಗತಿ. ಮುಂದಿನ ದಿನಲಿ ಈ ವಿಸಯಲಿ ಇನ್ನಷ್ಟ್ ಅಧ್ಯಯನ ಆಗಲಿ ಅಂತಾ ಹಾರೈಸಿನೆ.

ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಾರಾಯಣ ಕಜೆಗದ್ದೆ, ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷರು
ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ಅರೆಭಾಷೆ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿ ಮತ್ತು ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ
ಅಕಾಡೆಮಿ, ಮಡಿಕೇರಿ, ಕೊಡಗು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆ

ಡಿ.ವಿ. ಸದಾನಂದ ಗೌಡ
D.V.Sadananda Gowda

ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು ಉತ್ತರ ಲೋಕಸಭಾ ಸದಸ್ಯರು,
ಮಾಜಿ ಮುಖ್ಯಮಂತ್ರಿಗಳು, ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ
ಹಾಗೂ ಮಾಜಿ ಕೇಂದ್ರ ಸಚಿವರು
Member of Parliament, Bengaluru North,
Former Chief Minister, Karnataka, Former Union Minister

MESSAGE

A young pen from Sulya is writing with new energy.

At the very outset, I would like to congratulate Anindith Gowda Kochi Baarike for coming up with a book on the Amara Sulya Movement of 1837. The book is in the English Language and helps the world over come to learn about the contribution of our native region of Sulya in a prominent anti-colonial movement in world history. This book by Anindith, a youngster hailing from a distinguished household of Sulya, is in accord with Honourable Prime Minister Sri Narendra Modi Ji's clarion call to the youth to write more about the lesser known freedom fighters. It is a befitting tribute to the sacrifice of all heroes. Writing in English helps in projecting India globally. In this capacity, the book can bring widespread attention to Sulya - the land of brave freedom fighters along with all other areas from the region traditionally referred to as Tulunadu that had joined together to defeat colonial oppression. Anindith has gone very far to retrieve data from archival sources that were unknown until now about the subject. I also appreciate the painstaking research work conducted by the author in gathering all the scattered historical records that have added additional value to refining this book. It has given a new dimension to the Amara Sulya subject and the beginning of a new chapter at Sulya. You have fulfilled the need for a book on the Amara Sulya subject matter in the English language. I commend you for having the discipline and energy necessary to frame and finish your writing project. I wish that more and more people read this book and get inspired to explore the topic.

Best wishes in all your future endeavours. I appreciate the thoroughness of your research.

(D.V.Sadananda Gowda)

D.V. SADANANDA GOWDA
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT, BENGALURU NORTH
FORMER CHIEF MINISTER, KARNATAKA
FORMER UNION MINISTER

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"The rebels of Amara Sulya stormed Mangalore, a port on India's west coast, on 03 April 1837. Tired of the East India Company's ***Fixed Maximum Annual Money Assessment*** *policy, principally over all lands of Sulya and Puttur, the sons of the soil decided to oust the British from the region, as a result of which two days later on 05 April 1837, all Europeans residing in Mangalore were forced to quit the town due to which all operations - administrative and economic - of the East India Company ceased. Prisoners were released from jail, the British flag was lowered, the part of the town housing the European settlement was burnt down and freedom, although short-lived, relished.*

Captain Neville Burtsal recounted the entire event in disbelief in a handwritten account. He was shocked how 5000 firearms could be organized against the Company's government. According to him, it could have been that people grew guns like wild trees in the forests of Bellare and Sulya, or that the rebel leader magically created an army from dust by stamping on the ground!"

180 years later...

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Dedicated to all unsung heroes

PART - A

PICTURES SPEAK

THE BEGINNING -

The first chapter deals with how the author stumbled upon this topic. It is a real incident recalled by the author at a time when he had never even dreamt that he would be coming up with a book, that too on this topic! The story begins in the author's paternal ancestral house and the town, where a unique discovery on particular dates coinciding with the history of that land leads to a journey of subsequent shocking revelations. As the author unknowingly embarks on a journey in the process of questioning things around his native place, a prominent question in the whole subject matter of this book crops up - whether the region has always had links to a warrior past, which was forgotten throughout history only awaiting to resurface?

"People are trapped in history and history is trapped in them."

- James Baldwin

CHAPTER - 1
BEGINNING

03 April 2018

How did it all begin?

The same date 181 years later is purely coincidental! On this date, our ancestors along with their supporters had stormed the port town of Mangalore and two days later they had been successful in driving the British East India Company out of town. Fast forward to the present, I had never even imagined that I would be coming up with a book on the topic. Well, although the topic was always around as it had always been, me going behind it

happened purely by chance or accident of birth, if I must say so. In 2018, then, my father and I are back home at our patrimonial estate at Sulya. For the father, it is all about getting the gun cleaned and ready to be deposited the next day at Bellare Police station. This is a routine at our place, post Independence, whenever the elections are fast approaching. I was simply observing everything before me as it happened. I opened my mouth only to ask my father whether the power supply would be restored. From here on begins the story of an inciting night of chronicling a movement, a hundred and eighty years later after its occurrence. Never did I once imagine that it would become the cornerstone of my life. My father didn't reply when I asked him whether the power supply would be restored that night. Much to the surprise, the supply wasn't restored but something else began unveiling or revealing itself! Thinking back about that moment, all that I remember is that I was only bothered about having my phone charged for the next day. I was lost in my thoughts until my father instructed me to open the door to let the cool breeze in. I got up to do as told and then stood at the threshold to feel the gentle wind caress my skin. I didn't know that he had gone to get the Gun for cleaning. He returned to the hall and placed it under the flickering candlelight. From the other side of the table I was silently, yet curiously observing what was happening before me. The silence was interrupted when he said *Naale Bellare ge hoglike untu* (We must go to Bellare tomorrow). I had been observing since childhood that every three years it had become more of a ritual to visit Bellare town. During election season, every Gun owner in the vicinity is supposed to deposit his firearm either at Bellare Police Station or at an approved private ammunition dealer. Before depositing the firearm, it is cleaned with Gun Oil. So this procedure before

that routine is what was going on. The weapons are to be recollected by the respective owners, only after the elections are over. The gun was being thoroughly cleaned and checked before it was to leave for Bellare the next day.

The photo was clicked at the private ammunition dealer's at Bellare

This photo was taken at the next election time after the incident that I narrated above. Observe the count of guns deposited at that private ammunition dealer's centre. Somewhere it feels as if the disarming act enabled by the British (out of fear of anti-colonial uprisings) is continuing in a crude form because in the neighbouring district of Kodagu (anglicized as Coorg) there is a distinct form of exemption on gun ownership. This is contrary in the territory here, where a significant movement in India's independence struggle had happened! Here it feels as if gun ownership is severely regulated even after the British left. Gun, the last remnant of Amara Sulya, symbolic of valour, is the tangible reminder of a prominent history of Sulya's soil. Being live at that spot (speaking of the photo above), the above image reminded me of Captain Neville Burstall, an eyewitness whose account I had come across while I was on the lookout for any existing records on the Amara Sulya incident.

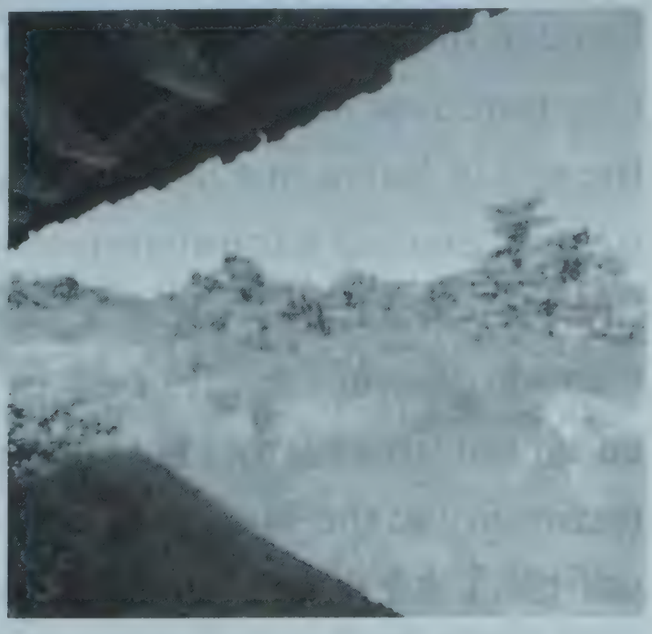
Upon looking at our freedom fighters, Capt. N. Burstall it is said had exclaimed - that either the freedom fighters grew guns just like the growth of wild trees in the forests of Bellare and Sulya or Kalyanappa (one of the important characters in the Amara Sulya moment) could have only magically created an entire army out of thin air by just stamping on the ground!

Bellare's Bangle Gudde (meaning Bungalow hillock), is the atmosphere that witnessed the beginning of the Amara Sulya movement. It is said that the East India Co. stored the forcibly collected tax money here.

Bellare is the nearest town to our plantation. Opposite the place where the police station is situated today, is the same place where a crucial defining movement in the history of India's political independence had begun. The building in the photo is said to have housed the treasury of the then British East India Co. soon after it had annexed this region under its fold in 1834. It is also said that somewhere during the medieval period, a fort constructed by the Keladi Nayakas used to exist here. Nothing of that remains though! Particularly in Tulunadu's history, Bellare has had its significance until before the last 500 years. This is because Bellare was the coronation seat of the Ballal rulers that had ruled over this Eastern boundary of Tulunadu. Immediately after the Vijayanagara Empire's collapse, the vassal of Ikkeri Nayakas that took over the reins built a fort at Bellare. After Hyder Ali and his son Tipoo's ruling over the areas, the British seized power. Post-Tipoo's demise in May 1799, Kodagu

under Doddaviraraja was allowed to continue as a separate Kingdom as it existed until then. Parts of erstwhile Tulunadu were consolidated under a new entity as South Kanara in the Madras Presidency. Right opposite the place where the gun is deposited at Bellare today (i.e.: opposite the Bellare police station), is a school ground for a mere onlooker, but for the natives, the place is locally known as *Bangle Gudde* which translates to a hill of the bungalow. What has become a school ground today was witness to a freedom movement twenty years before Mangal Pandey's revolt of 1837. It is said that the same building which was once a witness/recipient to a strong emotion in 1837, had also acted as village revenue collection at least until the late 1980s - 90s period. There even existed an old British Bungalow with a high ceiling, just beside the road. This was at least until the 85s - early 90s period, until which it is said to have served the purpose of some sort of an outpost. While reading a festschrift titled The Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads 1500 - 1800, published by a Portuguese private institute which states that it seeks to continue its historical ties with foreign territories outlines what it terms as custom stations along the hinterlands established by the then Indian rulers to ensure that trade from the coast to the hinterlands was well regulated. These collection centres are known by the name sunkathanes (sunka translates to tax and Thane means an office or a centre). Places with the name sunka and katte (katte means a village centre where people can gather around like in a park) appear quite commonly around. Supporting this is the mention of an inscription dated 1606 (the time when the Ikkeri dynasty held sway over the region) which as per the festschrift - "*mentions the collection of custom duties at Sagara, Kumbhasi, Pombucha, Agumbe,* ***Belare,*** *Kalasa and Kiga.*"

So it is not surprising then that, from the Ballals to the brief period of Portuguese trade and the Keladi dynasty, to Hyder and Tipu, the Haleri Dynasty and then finally the then British East India Company, Bellare was of geostrategic importance to various administrators over time.



View from the Bungalow.

Once a place where one of the firsts in India's Independence Struggle began, now this place is in utter neglect. My father recalled that during his schooling days in the 60s and 70s, this spot was a level surface where scouting camps for school going boys were organized. Although this spot has had much historical significance before - be it a fort of the Ikkeri period supposedly present there, the East India Co. treasury at the same spot which sparked the Amara Sulya movement and also the ruins of the palace of the Ballals being in the vicinity, it feels sad to see the state of affairs in utter neglect over there.

My embarkment on this topic was not predetermined by me. All I knew was that this is my native place and whenever election season comes, we have to go and deposit our firearms in the nearby police station or at a private ammunition dealer. My doubt ever since I've been seeing weapons at my native place is how did they come here and what purpose had they served with their presence for generations. Why I say this is

because I have observed many a time that when a person passes away, shots (commonly 2) are fired into the air as a mark of respect before Agnisparsh (liting the pyre). Another observation that I had made was that the Arms Act and the Arms Rules as laws concerning weaponry were brought into force in India only in 1959 and 1962 respectively, after which new purchase has been virtually impossible for anybody. But, the soil of Sulya just like its neighbour (which also happened to have exuded administrative influence over Sulya through the Haleri Dynasty for a century or two roughly) has weaponry, wars and horses in its history and the tangible and intangible elements associated with it at Sulya only bear testimony to the same. So, here began my journey of finding out the kind of relationship that weapons shared with this soil and it lead to unearthing a freedom movement lost to time. In the course of the journey, I remember my father once shared with me a statement uttered by his mother while she was in the kitchen. He was hungry and had asked for food to be given quickly, to which she had replied in **Tulu - "Nikk Dane dand g poyare unda?"** (Do you also have to go to the war; dand meaning a group of fighters or **troops of the insurgent army as the British had addressed the Amara Sulya freedom fighters).** Similarly in Arebhashe (a language spoken at Sulya), I remember my maternal grandmother's side recalling - **"avvu attha bisile margali dand hogolo!"** (Thet have gone in the route of the Bisile Ghats; this has been covered in a dedicated chapter in the book where Freedom Fighter Koojugodu Kattemane Appaiah Gowda of my maternal ancestry along with Koojugodu Mallappa Gowda and others lead men with the mission of recapturing Madikeri Fort from the clutches of the British East India Co. where they confront Col. Williamson and soldiers under his command).

Another thing that I had observed to be somewhat alive (strangely though in conversations only) but in a hush, manner was the existence, life and death of my paternal great grandfather and his father. Even when I happened to overhear conversations regarding Kochi Baarike by some other learned men and also my elders, I would often hear them recalling how my paternal great grandfather had refused to pay tax money during the time of the British and not just that, he had stubbornly refused to pay money to the British (a statement is recalled in **Tulu - "terige kattere Kaas korjer"**; meaning he didn't give any money to pay the tax), after which he and his father go missing forever.

(Going through the records and also from my conservations with some scholars who during their study had come across my paternal legacy, I have listed one of the probable causes for their mysterious disappearance. The following is an excerpt taken from **Report on the medical topography and statistics, of the provinces of Malabar and Canara; Published by order of Government; R.W. Thorpe; Vepery Mission Press - 1844.**

"Immediately after the insurrection in Canara, (beginning of 1837,) numerous prisoners from all parts of the district were sent to the jail, to await their trial before the commission; many of these being of the higher classes of natives, who had been accustomed to indulge in the luxuries of wealth and power, were consequently less able to bear up against so sudden a change of diet, and of all their habits, in their passive confinement; their minds gave way, and although every attention consistent with their safety and situation, was shewn to them, yet many were in such a state of despondency, that they sunk upon the first appearance of disease.")

Baarike as a manorial responsibility includes in its territory the area of Bellare where the freedom movement began, from the Bangle Gudde (the East India Co. treasury), Baarike is on the way towards Mangalore. From Bellare, the big group of Freedom fighters had split into a group where one large group had headed towards Mangalore, while others moved in the direction of Kasargode and another in the direction of the Bisle Ghats. The jail record reminds me of Lakshmappa Bangarasa of Nandavara, who while lodged in the Mangalore prison along with other captured freedom fighters had resorted to Sallekhana vow. His lands too were forfeited by the British East India Co. for taking part in the Independence struggle [the unfortunate episode has been covered in the later chapters of this book].

I remember asking my father during my childhood, where is my great grandfather's father buried - a question that has fetched no answer to date. I also remember discussing with my father that the Kochi land was auctioned by the British for not paying taxes, due to which the family of the guardian spirit deities [called Daiva(s) in Tulunadu] had not been receiving their honour (ritual offered in honour to the spirit deity(s) considered the owner of the land under whom before the establishment of European justice model was the dispute and grievance redressal system rested for aeons together) until 7 April 2022 (exactly coinciding 185 later after the movement and also what the elders mentioned ***Elam in Tulu,*** translating to the word auction in English).

All these matters made me more and more curious with each passing day as to what must have really happened back in time and were there even remotely any possibility of knowing anything about the same. This is how when trying to trace the origin of a British made gun leads me towards recalling a forgotten freedom movement begins…

This is what Sulya, the western floor (foothills) of the Western Ghats looks like. The photo was taken from my patrimonial estate.

***

CHAPTER - 2
ARMORY

Sulya's history

What could it have been? _____

When somebody that has been to Sulya hears about it, the first thing that comes to their mind is areca farms and rubber plantations. With time, these farms have gone on to include other crops of commercial interest as well. When inquired with the elders, their response to the question seemed as if agriculture had been there forever here. But, is agriculture all that is to Sulya or is there something more? What arrived at me at this doubt is the fact that in almost all ancestral houses of Sulya, I felt the presence of guns. This I found to be a mismatch to the domain of agriculture. This becomes apparent with increasing exposure to Sulya's interiors and the relation that geography and culture here share. I still remember

sometime not so long ago when I would jokingly tell my father, 'now that Capt. Le Hardy won't be coming down with a troop, why is it that we find it hard to find answers to the most pressing question concerning this topic. Keeping the jokes aside, Pickaxe, shovel, sickle and other agricultural tools have their purposes in one or the other way in the process of farming. But the approach of my doubt was trying to find an answer to what this peculiar tool is doing here in Sulya. It wasn't the mere presence of it that made me question its presence. Why I say so is because if that happened to be the case, then the classic argument of the elders of Sulya at present (their argument being 'crop protection' - although I fail to understand in what ways, particularly so because of the Wildlife Protection Act of Independent India's Law) rests with the case. What I mean to say is that whenever I would ask my elders about this 'tool', the only answer that I would get each time is two words - Crop Protection. But each time I received that feedback, I felt the inadequacy in that answer to explain many intrinsic matters in and around Sulya. Because the neighbouring district of Kodagu (anglicized as Coorg), is a region renowned for its military heritage even before India had obtained its political Independence and the cultural tryst of the men of that land with their heirloom guns has its radiance felt the world over for a distinct poise of its own. On a deeper introspection of whatever I had felt thus far, observing that and also inspecting the ground reality, I concluded that though there is vital distinctness in key areas differentiating one another geographically, the core idea remains the same. Let me share an anecdote on this - it is common at Coorg or Sulya that when a person passes away, gunshots are marked to the air as a sign of respect to the deceased, before lighting the pyre. This can also be seen as a

send-off salute to the departed warrior. This is just one example among other peculiar aspects that smell strongly of an ancient martial prowess. Although they are much more distinct, I would perhaps use the word quintessential elements of warriors (if I may coin the word so for explanation here) at Coorg or Sulya, it has always been interesting to note that the gallantry of Coorg has found some mention at different intervals. On the contrary, the history of Sulya seems to have been forgotten to such an extent that if anybody were to say that Sulya had such a history, the people of Sulya would be perplexed at hearing such tales and would have probably no takers for the same. Coming to the 'Crop Protection' subject, the word finds appearance in the laws concerning firearms in Independent India, which is one among the stringent in the world today. Post the late 1950s the legal action on firearms possession and ownership came into force. It is in this that one finds its mention among the criteria for firearms ownership (the law saw its latest amendment as recently as 2019). This point contradicts the existence/presence of weapons in the region which easily stretches back to many many centuries before the disarming act of the British colonists and then the draconian arms act of Independent India came into being.

The colonial bias towards the formation of laws on weapons is evident from the following excerpts. The purpose of such formulation served not only the purpose of demilitarizing the anti colonists/native Indian Freedom Fighters but also shifted the blame of non-possessing communities to those that were projected as being allies of the British East India Co. and subsequently the British Raj. This infighting within India ensured the British that the natives on the ground by fighting against one another

remained divided forever! The following excerpts only bear testimony to the fact of sheer divide and rule (something for which the British colonialists are infamous) and nothing else!

Ethnographical Compendium on the Castes & Tribes Found in the Province of Coorg, with a Short Description of Those Peculiar to Coorg; Rev. G. Richter; Morning Star Press, Bangalore - 1887

"When in 1837 there was some political disturbance in South Kanara in which also some Coorgs were implicated, the main body rallied round the Government and suppressed it, and were amply rewarded with jaghirs pensions and medals, and when in 1861 the "Disarming Act" came in force, "the gallant people of Coorg" were specially exempted by the Commissioner, Sir Mark Cubbon."

Eastern Experiences; Lewin Bentham Bowring, C.S.I. (Late Chief Commissioner of Mysore and Coorg); Henry S. King & Co., 65 Cornhill, London - 1871

"Perhaps the greatest panegyric which can be pronounced upon the Coorgs is that, owing to their staunch and approved loyalty, they were exempted from the provisions of the Disarming Act, a recognition of their good service during the insurrection in Canara, which they always refer to with pride and pleasure. Their loyalty was, in a great measure, owing to the confidence which they felt in the European officer who, at the time, superintended the affairs of the province. Few parts of India, indeed, have been more fortunate in this respect than Coorg, which has had many superintendents who have gained the esteem and affection of the people."

Mysore and Coorg: A gazetteer compiled for the Government of India; Benjamin Lewis Rice; Mysore Government Press, Bangalore - 1878

NOTIFICATION.

26th February 1861.

In consideration of the exalted honour, loyalty and intrepidity characteristic of this little nation of warriors, and in recollection of its conspicuous services in aid of the British Government, it is my pleasing duty to notify hereby for general information, in virtue of the power vested in me by the Government of India, that the provisions of the Act commonly called the Disarming Act are not applicable to the gallant people of Coorg.

(Signed) M. CUBBON,
Commissioner.

The Disarming Act laid the bedrock for weakening India's warrior prowess and traditions spanning aeons altogether.

"The very purpose that got me deeply interested in the topic is because of what I too had seen and experienced on 04 April 2018, when along with my father I too had been to deposit the firearm as a consequence/continuation of the same draconian law according to which during the election time, the owners are supposed to deposit their weapon at the nearby police station or an approved private ammunition dealer. If this is one thing, with each passing year it is only becoming increasingly hard for obtaining a permit license for wielding a weapon - talking only about the ones that have had a former warrior legacy. What is even more saddening is the fact that the infighting mentioned previously which the British had begun for their gains is being carried forward by vested interests in the pursuit of fulfilling their agendas, which is only hurting/dividing other people that are not part of any agenda whatsoever. I decided to proceed with chronicling in

the form of this book so that the generations to come to have a source that they can look back upon. Holding the heirloom gun opposite the ground at Bellare, the same ground where our ancestors had stood determined to not surrender to the British at all costs, all I wanted to know at that point in my life was the very purpose for the presence of weapons here. So that's where my keen-eyed search for finding data started and ultimately resulted in the creation of this book. When I began my search for answers, writing a book was not something that I had ever thought about. Taking it up as a challenge, I had begun only with curiosity over whatever was unfolding at a gap of nearly two centuries in this part of India. At that time, I never even thought that it would reach the stage where it is in this final form and a third person (by which I mean a reader of this content) would come across the chronicles of my journey in uncovering previously unknown matters about a forgotten freedom movement! Some things are destined I feel, how a revisit of the past is happening on its own. When it came to be known that, an event of the magnitude of literally pushing Europeans to the sea had happened back in 1837 in Mangalore, it speaks volumes about what must have transpired back then! Since I hail from Sulya, it only made more sense for me to not just look around, but observe with diligence over the Sulya that I was introduced to since birth. The end of it left me a much different person than I was when I began. The Sulya that I had seen and known since childhood no longer remained the same in my eyes."

A Specimen of the Odi Kathi belonging to the 18th/19th Century. Said to have owned the family of Lord Charles Rolls (co-founder of Rolls Royce). This specimen, now still in Europe was exhibited through Asian Art in London. This is

Image Credits:
Runjeet Singh

one of the surviving Odi Kathis of the bygone era. The Odi Katthi along with being a war weapon has had some ceremonial importance too. A weapon today synonymous with the Coorg region has had a cultural association with the distinct communities that were under the administrative influence of the Haleri Dynasty. Today, few specimens survive at some of the ancestral homes of Sulya, Kodagu and the surrounding.

I am told that the original is said to have some strong action in its period. After a brief change of hands from the palace of the Haleri Dynasty as its story originates and down the lineage, it now rests under one the observation of a cousin of mine. When preserved as a memory, heirloom artefacts have a story of their own to tell, bringing us closer to the times gone by...

A Made to order (the smaller Odi Katthi on the left side) standing side by side with the original broadsword back home...

During my attempt in finding any existing records, I'm thankful enough to a resource person for sending me this image. Some existing specimens of weapons and also some old grinding stones at ancestral homes within and around the periphery of Sulya and Kodagu have this marking. Pronounced like the letter V, it denotes the period of the Veer Rajahs of the

Haleri Dynasty. It could either indicate Dodda Vira Rajah or Chikka Vira Rajah (kings of different periods, yet they both share a common name) but most notably presumed to be of the period of Chikka Vira Rajah, the last Rajah of the Haleri Dynasty that had its administrative influence over Kodagu.

Image copyright to its respective owner(s)

From the records -

LETTERS TO AND FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, RELATIVE TO THE DISTURBANCES IN CANARA, IN APRIL, 1837 is the most notable work concerning the Amara Sulya Freedom Movement by a Mr Francis Carnac Brown.

The following two paragraphs are presented here as excerpts from Mr F.C. Brown's work -

Para 1 -

"And when, at length, these formidable enemies did appear, when these warriors, not one of whom had been seen since the 2nd of April, did venture to come forth, with numbers vastly augmented by success, even the writer of this letter, who probably never saw 500 men assembled together in a body, rates their whole number at 2,000, states that only one in twenty had a matchlock, the rest bill-hooks, sticks, and clubs, that the armed and the unarmed trusted to their shouts, as their most terrible weapon, that the greater part, poor Ryots, only waited for a discharge of blank cartridge to fly to their homes in the jungles, and that the whole body did fly on the first volley of ball from the Sepoys !

All these facts and occurrences, detailed by this eyewitness to his family, indisputable and irrefragable as I firmly believe them to be, will appear incredible to His Lordship in Council."

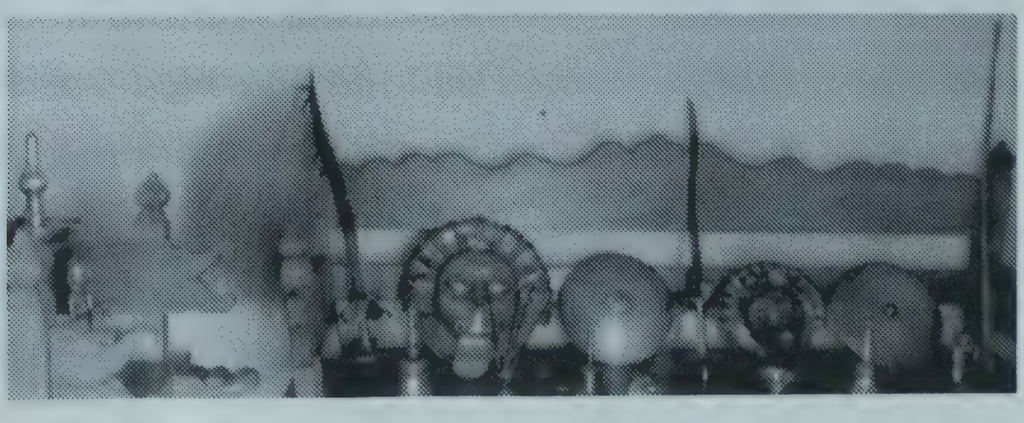
Para 2 -

"the numerous assailants, 350 firelocks handled by disciplined men, against 200 matchlocks, 500 clubs, sticks, and bill-hooks, and 10,000 shouts! Such the exploit, which can boast, I hear, of having received the individual thanks of so distinguished a soldier as the Commander in-Chief!-Five thousand men in arms!"

*

A Britisher who must have perhaps for the first time been exposed to this weapon in combat seeing its resemblance with the bill hook and not knowing the name Odi Katthi must have while chronicling the incident mentioned the weapons as just bill hooks. Once aplenty, the presence of this weapon began dwindling after the incident. I remember one of my uncles telling me how in the olden days (this is pot the incident), blades of significant size were secretly melted within the confines of the house so that all traces of this incident was systematically erased to avoid the evil eyes of the Britishers around.

Observe the following images, the armaments of guardian spirits.



Duggala, Puttur.

Armaments belonging to the DharmaDaiva Rudra - Chamundi. Observe the presence of shields

Duggala, Puttur.

Most notable is the figurine of a horseback warrior - worshipped as a diety today. Also, specifically, observe the straight blades sword - reminiscing about a medieval sword. Also present are arrows, trident, disc and curved blades reminding the medieval cavalry.

Kedambadi, Sulya.

What is said to have been once the abode of Kedambadi Ramaiah Gowda, along with other royal armaments of other guardian deities just like found elsewhere at Tulunadu has these special ornamental armaments signifying weapons of war. The collection includes a shield, a staff and a crown (which is said to be studded with gemstones) along with shields. Although some interpretations opine that these armaments were gifted by the Rajahs of the Haleri Dynasty, which has been by large the sentiment as well, independent verification of the same is a tad bit tough.

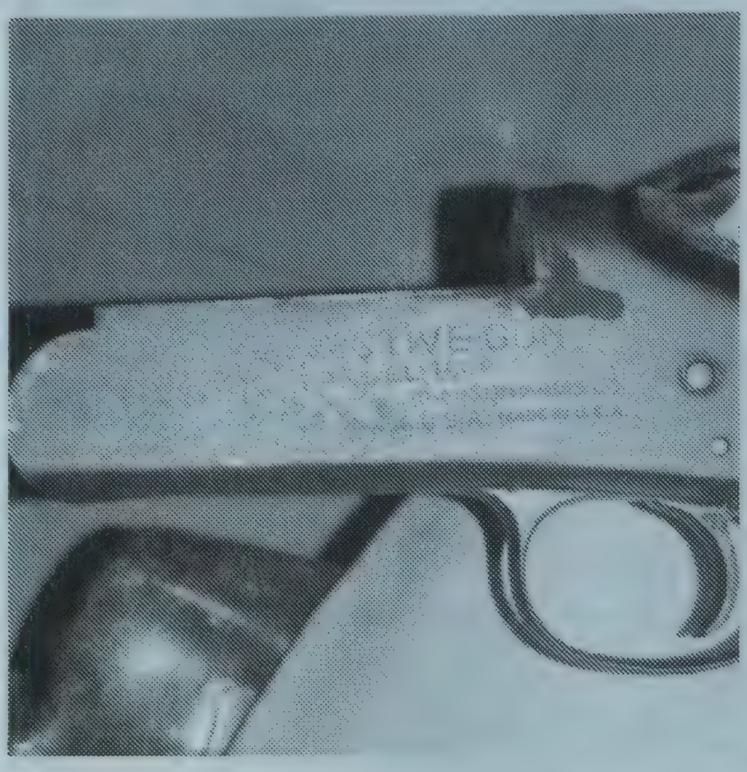
*

In a thesis by Michael Dusche, titled Butas and Daivas as Justices in Tulu Nadu: Implications for the Philosophy of Law, submitted to the Berlin University, the paper begins with the theme - Legal diversity in India, under which the researcher mentions - *"peculiar examples of dispute resolution where the responsibility for justice is completely delegated to spirits such as butas or daivas, devtas or jinns"*.

The images mentioned above were setas of the judiciary in the Eastern bygone days until the European seat of justice was introduced to this land. Today the figurines receive their honour as a symbol of divinity. Judiciary has taken the seat of faith over time. Faith, Administration, Military and Architecture. Not an overlap but centuries worth of correlation where these factors are coinciding with one another beyond mere interdependence in the Tulunadu region that comprises of present-day Dakshina Kannada and Udupi districts of Karnataka and Kasargod district of Kerala state.

*

Panja
November 22, 2020

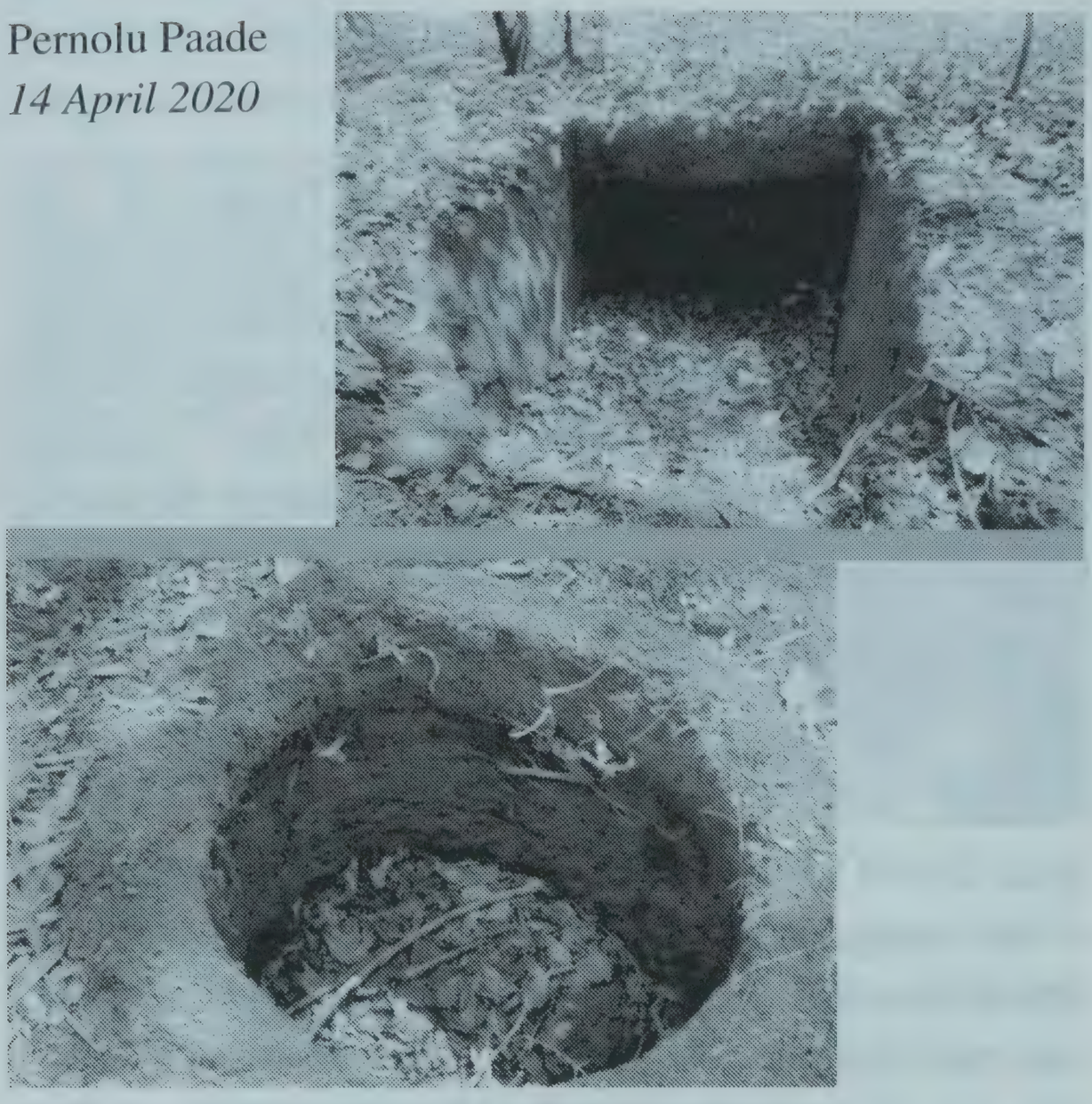


There is an interesting story behind this American made shotgun that one of my uncles, (presently the owner of this shotgun) recounts. It was the year 1947 when the British were finally scheduled to leave India, around 50 guns of fine quality it seems were left behind at their bungalow at Panja, of which this is one. While the British have left, the gun continues to stay at Panja... such last remaining pieces of the times gone by have in them the leftover stories of colonial India. More about Panja, today a part of Dakshina Kannada district, Karnataka was found in Robert Sewell's *Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, published in the year 1882.

The following is an excerpt from his book: *"PANJA-25 miles south-east of Uppinangadi. (Panjee.) An Old Canarese inscription, said to be unintelligible, in the Durga temple of the village of Balpa. Another in the same village on the bank of a rice-field called Kanagudi, recording a grant in A.D. 1562. In the village of Edamangala in the Panchalinga temple is an unintelligible inscription, said to be in "unknown characters," and a similar one is to be seen in the temple at Baripadi."*

*

Pernolu Paade
14 April 2020



Since my childhood, yet another intriguing story that I would often hear was about that of a cave in the hills behind our plantation. There were many ambiguous myths about that location which had made it seem like a haunted place that nobody ever seemed bold enough to go and explore the truth concerning the cave. I had come across two-three stories - one that it was there at the time of Ramayana (when Lord Rama along with his divine consort Sita Mata and his brother Lakshman were sent to 14 years of exile) and Mahabharata (when the Pandavas were sent to exile), two that it was a fort of some Ballal ruler of Tulunadu who was given the jurisdiction of the Eastern boundary of Tulunadu and that it still contains an immense wealth and three that during the time of the Haleri dynasty and towards its end when the

British East India Company came closer to annexing territory, they were also near to the same it seems. There seem to be many narratives, but nobody is sure about its truth, which only adds more to its mystery. Hearing all these stories since childhood, I was very curious to go near it, but as expected given these narratives, nobody around showed much interest in taking me there, warning me about the 'consequences' of going near it. This further intensified my curiosity of knowing about it. Finally, I was taken there by one of the plantation helpers. Located in the middle of a dense rubber plantation, the place where the cave-like structure is situated makes it feel like a fort constructed in the middle of the forest. What makes one arrive at this thought is the fact that the history of Sulya as early as 500 years ago revolves around the region being pivotal in the trade route from the hinterlands to the coast, at a time when Portuguese dominance over global maritime trade was at an all-time high. And also the place where this structure is situated, along with being at the foothills of the western ghats, is closer to the Kasargod district of Kerala (which in the former times was Kumble Seeme) thereby nearer to the sea. This in my opinion suffices to arrive at a thought that it could have served as a 'monolithic fort'. It was possible to arrive at this inference as the knowledge of constructing different types of forts like a hill fort, water fort and forest fort to serve various applications was found in medieval India as is learnt from history that has been recorded thus far.

How many antiquities and matters of historical interest are around us. Only if we were to cast some priority over the same, maybe we would be in a better position in being aware of our past.

"In battle, topography is fate."

Rick Atkinson

TOPOGRAPHY

Once on a journey around the Subrahmanya region (absolutely on an entirely different purpose), the author unexpectedly comes across a flooded bridge a little away from which on the other side are the ruins of colonial-era British architecture. Present right at the slope of a pass on the Western Ghats, curiosity around the discovery intensifies in learning more about the place. Sometime before, along with his father (in this case too, the purpose of the visit was entirely different), the author reaches an estate spanning 1500+ acres, comprising parts of two administrative districts. A rubber estate was developed here before India gained political independence and it was owned then by the British. Captain Le Hardy, the antagonist of the Amara Sulya Freedom Movement drives down troops through this very region in hopes of eliminating the Amara Sulya Freedom Fighters whom he had termed rebels.

CHAPTER - 3
HOSMATT

11 June 2018

Hosmatt Bridge and the ruins at Kulkunda_____

Once on a rainy day, I and my father had set out from Mangalore to attend some program back at Sulya. I don't exactly recall what program it was. All that I knew was that it was a rainy day and throughout the journey, I was looking out and up at the sky wondering when the rain would go away. An hour or two later or so, we were in the vicinity of the venue. Let me not forget to mention that there were a few more kilometres, but still we were in that region. So, I was eagerly waiting to get

down. Soon our journey was interrupted by a traffic jam, yes - a traffic jam in the middle of rain, that was the last thing one could ask at that moment. Then I decided to get down from the car, walk forward and analyze the traffic conditions for myself. It seems that the construction of a new bridge had halted halfway and the old bridge was overflooded. The old bridge, rather the actual bridge through which we were supposed to pass through, was built during the British colonial times it seems! That was news to me. Well, I stood at the unfinished new bridge watching along with other bystanders the policemen who had stood at the entrance of the old bridge to caution travellers. Huge logs of wood were floating/being washed over with the strong current of the water. I came to know from my father that the water source originated somewhere in the western ghats and that there was a dam somewhere nearby. For me, it was the first time looking at whatever was happening at that moment, but he said that it was quite common there. The dam must have overflowed that day, hence the strong current. For some time we stood at the unfinished bridge watching the submerged bridge below and then we decided to move on to our destination through an alternative route.

After passing through quite decently tarmacked roads in the middle of beautifully lush looking forests of the Western Ghats foothills, we arrived at our destination. It was one good rainy afternoon. When we were looking for a spot to park our car, my sight lay on the structure that stood in front of us. Back then too and even now, I find it hard to express through words what I felt like standing there in front of that structure, silence, awe, and overall a sense of mystery is what was going on in my mind when my glance first fell over this structure. From the very first look on this site, anybody can

tell that it must have been a grand residence for some gutsy British Man of the late 19th/early 20th century. Geographically, this lies right at the floor of the western slope of the western ghats. Since not much has changed in the years since then, standing there, one can still try and understand how the days during the Raj must have been then! Still surrounded by forests and the dangerous endemic inhabitants of the same soil, back then this residence must have put up a mighty show of human power on the floor of the forest as dangerous as this. I had lots of thoughts going on in my mind as I stood there in silence looking at what was in front of me. At that moment my father said to let us first attend the program and then if the rain subsided, then we could explore the site. I quite liked the idea and agreed with him.

After attending the program, we came back to this site and as said by my father, we began exploring the site. The rain hadn't stopped but had subsided to a certain extent since the time we arrived there. So, we quickly began our exploration activity. Firstly, it was a huge structure. I was only trying to imagine that if the ruins themselves still seem to be large despite the passage of time, how extravagant could the life of a British officer living in the same place, only a

few decades ago have been! As much as I would not want to openly show it, I was absolutely surprised to find such a lavish ruin, if I may say so, literally in the middle of what is now like a forest! My curiosity tried to get the better of the cautious me. I wanted to walk around and see more. But my father warned me that since it is an old site, he alerted me to watch my step as the weather was in bad shape that day, the structure could be weak and thirdly about the wild creatures lurking on the forest floor. We never know what could happen at any moment, right. So then, after a careful watch around the structure, I stood in the middle of the structure, what I felt could have been a grand courtyard when the house was in full action back in time and tried imagining a British man commanding others to obey his orders and carry out their duties in that house. Words fail to catch hold of expressions when it feels surreal to stand in such places whose walls must once have witnessed the commands of Britain and now stood deserted. There was silence around, except for the sound of the pattering raindrops and some insects on the forest floor. What was that silence trying to define, perhaps the practical understanding of the word freedom? The freedom that came after a lot of fighting for the cause and once achieved the result was silently deafening and the effect came crushing on colonialism. It could be, isn't it?

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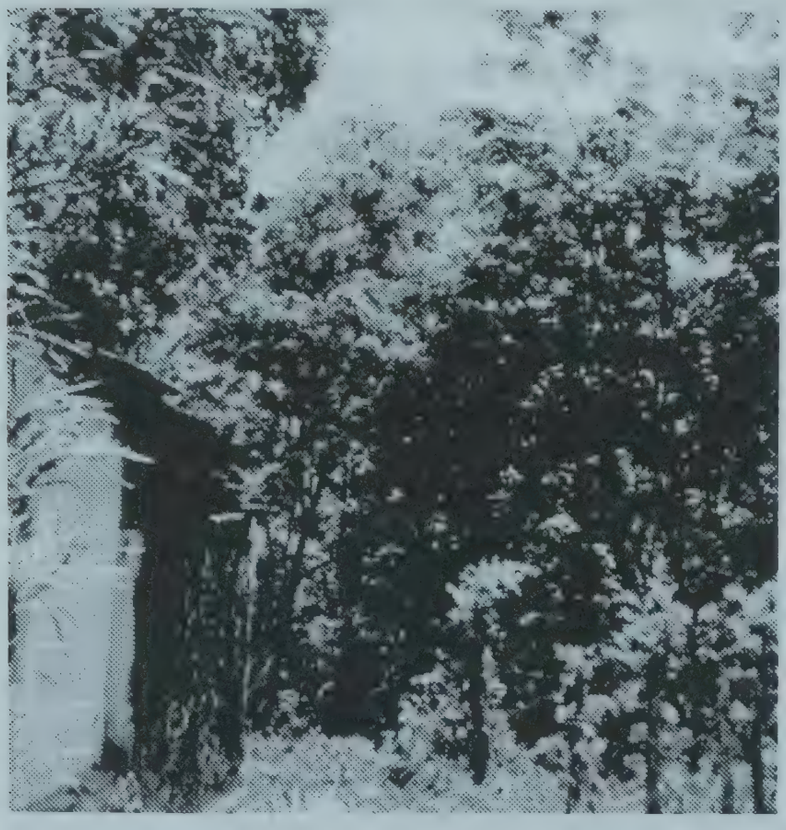
CHAPTER - 4
KADAMAKAL

28 Feb 2017

Kadamakal and Koojamale



My visit to this plantation was purely by chance. I was in my senior secondary phase of education when I set foot in Kadamakal and Koojamale plantations. Although segregated from each other for operations, both the plantations have the same owner. I am unable to recall why exactly I had been back home, but all I remember is my father telling me the previous night of the visit to get ready early the next day. Early next morning we left for the destination, a short drive from our place.

I remember passing through well tarmac roads, sometimes no roads, but overall the path passed through the middle of thick forests. We reached a gate at the dead-end of the road. My dad said something to the security and we were let in. Once inside, we could see many workers of the plantation busy moving around. We had to drive a bit inside and on the way we saw boards directing toward the prayer centre of three major faiths. I was shocked to find that out inside what for an urban dweller like me felt like a deep jungle. A little drive inside the plantation and we reached the smokehouse at the plantation where rubber sheets are dried. Here the manager of the plantation and my father were having some business-related discussions and I waited for them. Then we were told by the manager to park our car at the base of a steep incline where only four-wheel-drive equipped vehicles can perform the tasks. So we parked our car and boarded the manager's jeep to proceed to his office. As the manager and my father continued their work at the office, I casually wandered outside the building. As I was walking around, I observed the rubber plantation, the hills beyond which I was told is the Madikeri town, the headquarters of Coorg and some cows grazing around. There existed a path to approach Madikeri from this part of Sulya, Dakshina Kannada District but for unknown reasons, the path was shut off as I was informed. As I continued walking, I was stunned to see a bungalow in the middle of this estate. For a moment I didn't know how to react to the situation. I waited for them to finish their meeting and then raised this query. Seems like it has been here for a long time! As the meeting here got over, we left back down the slope where we had parked our car and then we left for the next destination, the Koojamale estate.

Koojamale on no road is just a short distance from the Kadamakal plantation. Koojamale has its prominence in Sulya's folklore. Locally and also external sources who are aware of the matter, know very well about the availability of red coloured precious gemstones naturally, specifically in this region only. Natives say that there have also been many notorious instances of individuals and/or groups that have come looking for these precious stones it seems. I am of the staunch opinion that such activities pose a serious threat to the ecological sensitivity of the fragile ecosystem of the Western Ghats, a world heritage site! As my father and I were driving towards our second destination, we looked at each other's faces in absolute silence as the route was undeniably deep in the jungles, totally cut off from mobile networks. I broke the uncomfortable pause out of fear with a query which only afterwards I felt to be most inappropriate to ask at that moment. I asked my dad what if some wild animal was bound to cross our path, to which he replied saying that the chances are indeed high. I was only praying for the best in the passenger's seat. In a short while, after crossing some slushy tracks, we reached the Koojamale estate. The manager was kind enough to welcome us and he

spoke with me too! I asked him about the presence of wild animals around to which he shared with me an interesting anecdote. While elephants roaming around the region is quite commonly known, I came to know something else that day, the way he said it made it feel altogether different. He said that when the rubber tappers leave for their work early in the morning hours (at around 4:30 - 5:00 A.M.), there had been many instances of spotting water in tiger's pug marks (paw prints of a tiger). After he and my dad had finished their work, we left the Koojamale estate.

This is a view from Kollamogru, the nearest hamlet to the Kadamakal and Koojamale estates.

A few years after I had begun studying documents of the Amara Sulya matter, I came across content on Kadamakal and the location's significance in the Amara Sulya incident. When I had been to the estates, I wasn't aware of the location's historical significance. Only after studying documents of the Amara Sulya incident did I become aware of the same. Following is the excerpt from the Calcutta review, a periodical founded by Sir John William Kaye and Alexander Duff.

Excerpt from The Calcutta Review, Vol. XXVI.; W.H. Allen and Co. London - 1856: *"Captain Le Hardey, the Superintendent, was on the alert. After consultation with the Dewans, he left Ponappa at Mercara, and marched with Bopu and a body of troops in the direction of Sulya as far as Sampaji, whether Bopu had received intelligence that the insurgents were moving from Sulya. When Captain Le Hardey, after a long and tedious march, had reached Sampaji at the foot of the Ghats, no rebels were to be seen, and he learnt, that they had moved towards the Bislighat and the North Coorg. It was impossible to follow the insurgents through a tract of forest hills, difficult of passage even for travellers. He returned, therefore, to Mercara, and marched to the supposed rendezvous of the rebels, through the upper districts of Coorg. When he arrived there, still accompanied by Bopu, no insurgents were to be seen, and intelligence now reached his camp, that the enemy was at Sampaji. He forthwith marched to Sampaji by way of Kadamakall. Again no rebels."*

"Attitude and Personality are
as important as Experience and Ability."

- Brian Tracy

DISTINCT PERSONALITIES

One is a figure rarely recalled. Purportedly a successful rice trader of the time is said to have travelled up to Lahore and also around other parts of North-Western India with a mission of mobilizing Indians against foreign administration. This has almost become folklore around the Amara Sulya incident. Another, rather the main figurehead of the movement, K. Ramaiah Gowda of the floor of the Western Ghats, a quintessential leader par excellence, a legendary figure in coastal India's history. How a legend organized people at Mudnoor, watched over the logistics of arms and ammunition, strategized a disciplined military campaign against East India Company, marched forth to Mangalore, lowered the British flag and made it possible for 13 days of freedom... the list is truly endless. It feels bone-chilling to explore more about such a legendary character whose very existence and also memory sent shivers down Britisher's spine.

CHAPTER - 5
NANJAIAH

14 March 2020

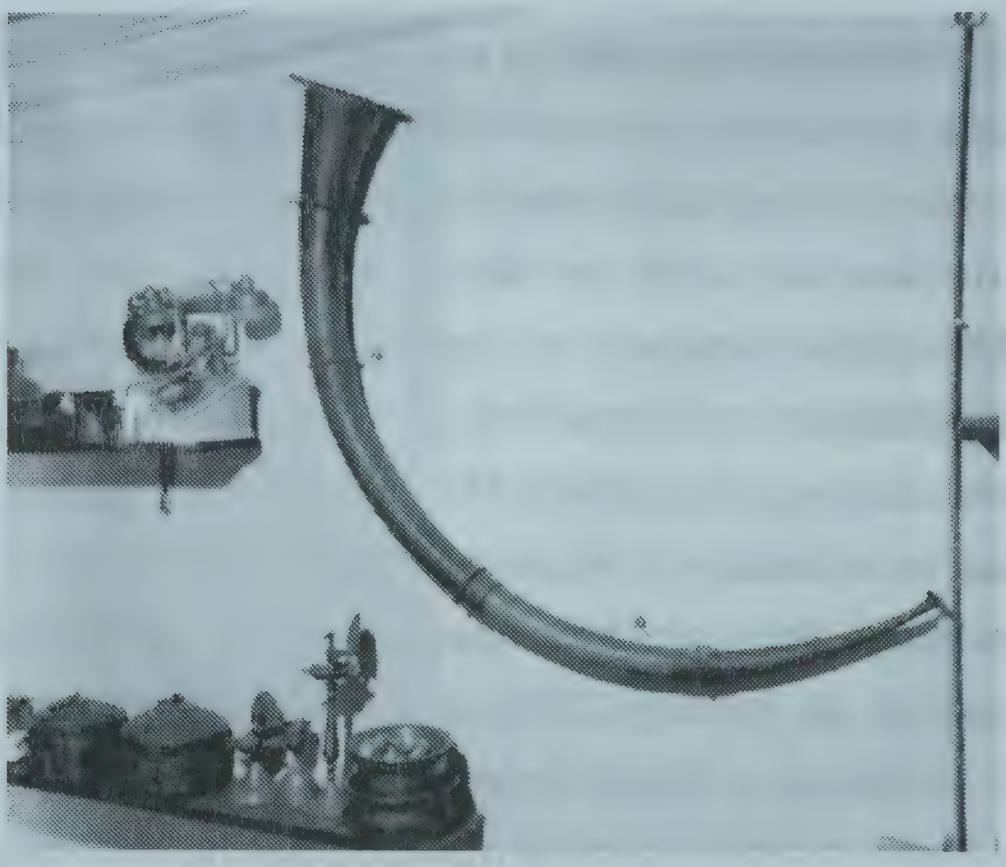
Sampaje

Photo in honour of Kannada Sahitya Parishat Award winner, N.S. Deviprasad Sampaje (1943 - 2022), representative of Freedom Fighter - Hulikonda Nanjaiah.

Sri N.S. Deviprasad Sampaje was the pioneer in bringing the Amara Sulya Freedom Movement to light post-India's independence. He is often considered the representative, the line that continued Freedom Fighter Hulikonda Nanjaiah's legacy.

Hulikonda Nanjaiah, a dark horse of the Amara Sulya movement. In the folklore of Amara Sulya, he comes across as a successful rice trader hailing from Arakalagud of Hassan, Karnataka who supposedly maintained cordial relations with the Rajahs of the Haleri Dynasty. In the incident of 1837, he was the contemporary of Kedambadi Ramaiah Gowda, the legend of Amara Sulya. It is said that Nanjaiah had toured across North-Western parts of India and had reached up to Lahore to persuade people to join hands in driving away from the British East India Company. As per the folklore, he was equally instrumental in the mobilization and strategizing of manpower and resources at Mangalore in March and April 1837. What happened to him once the British troops reached Mangalore remains a mystery. In post-independent India, if the credit for reviving the memory of Amara Sulya goes to anybody, then N.S. Deviprasad Sampaje is the one who deserves it in full glory. A national award-winning producer, he had written a book, scripted a play and organized a solidarity march recalling the forgotten incident of valour and stating demands to immortalize the historical incident of 1837. First published in the year 1999, his Kannada book titled Amara Sulyada Swatantra Samara based on the collection and organized presentation of some records on the event laid the foundation for slowly yet steadily increasing

the awareness of the same in the public domain. To bring any such hidden/forgotten memories back to the psyche of the masses is a huge task - one that requires courage, passion and dedication and in these lines of our times, N.S. Deviprasad Sampaje is a heroic inspiration in carrying out the noble duty of chronicling a movement that took place for freedom from colonialism. Through his work, he had been and has now become a forever cultural ambassador of the Amara Sulya Freedom Movement of 1837. Unfortunately, we lost him in January 2022, at the time when Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav is being observed throughout the Nation. I was shocked when I got the message that he is no more. It shook me very much because he is somebody who has fought for justice for this cause throughout his lifetime and he should have been among us to witness the developments on this topic. During my last conversation with him, he had said - "look Ani, we are farmers. The seed has been planted. It'll take time for the tree to grow and stand tall and stronger. Don't hurry. What is to happen shall happen." It is these words of his that have given me the strength to continue the task at hand with vigour. The photos in this chapter are one with him, paying homage to him. The second one is a single barrel muzzle loading gun said to be the last tangible representation of Freedom Fighter Hulikonda Nanjaiah himself. Also, there were some utensils, heirloom boxes, a peeche Katthi (traditional Coorg dagger tucked in men's sash at the waist) and swords among other interesting elements of antiquity in memory of the dark horse, Freedom Fighter Hulikonda Nanjaiah.



There is an interesting anecdote about this amazingly massive war horn. Sampaje being a border hamlet between Kodagu and Dakshina Kannada Districts today, has the cultural influence of both Tulunadu and Kodagu. This horn is blown when the royal ornaments of the deity of the land are taken out in procession at a set periodical event. This is a cultural aspect of the erstwhile Tuluva kingdom (Tulunadu) which is still being carried out today only in a ritualistic/ ceremonial manner.

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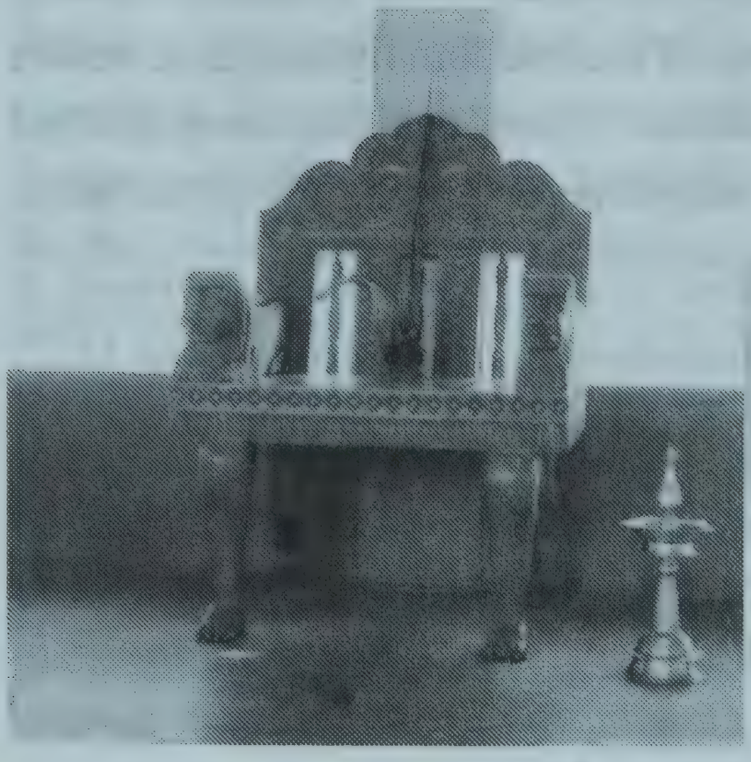
CHAPTER - 6
RAMAIAH

06 December 2020

Kedambadi Ramaiah Gowda - The iconic strategist



Armament of the Guardian spirit deity at Kedambadi, Sulya.

"If even a dog could be found that was born in the palace (of the Rajahs), this dog would do to raise and command a force against the Government !"

As per an existing record, this is what the legend had said on witnessing how low the then British East India Company was willing to go for satisfying its greed. In the work titled Letters to and from the Government of Madras by Francis Carnac Brown (published in 1838), this quote finds mentioned. Author F.C. Brown, as he

has been commonly addressed, wrote quite a few chronicles during the period of the East India Company. In the Letters to and from the Government of Madras, he has composed a significant volume on the Amara Sulya movement wherein he has recorded his observations, the interpretations, letters and also eyewitness accounts. It is in this collection that while recounting the happenings of the court-martial, F.C. Brown mentions the above quote of Kedambadi Ramaiah Gowda to be the confession of one of the freedom fighters tried before a specially commissioned trial. More on this has been touched upon in detail with the help of records in Part B of the book.

Excerpt from: *Letters to and from the Government of Madras, relative to the disturbances in Canara in April 1837; F.C. Brown, Esq. Smith, Elder and Co., London - 1838*

*"*The following is the confession of one of the first prisoners tried before the special commission:* ***"The consultation to attack Bellarypet was held at Moodnoor, in Soolya, by K. Ramiah Gowda, the principal man, several Potails, and all the chief inhabitants of Amara Soolya, in number about fifty.*** *Kallianappa came from the Poomalèy jungle, with another Ramiah Gowda, and about 120 armed men. The whole party went to Bellarypet; the public servants and money were seized; Soobryah was sent with a force to Cassergode; the rest advanced to Pootoor, and repulsed the Sepoys. The rebel party here consisted of 200 armed men and 300 Ryots. From the Bungar Rajah's house, P. Antappa Shetty, and 200 armed men of Amara Soolya, advanced upon Mangalore. Many Ryots followed."*

*

Today, 185 years after the incident, Kedambadi Ramaiah Gowda is fast emerging from the forgotten past as a cult

figure - a personified epitome of the moniker - "brave son of the soil." As an emerging cult, he is being projected as a "**Sangathan Chatur**" (meaning somebody with clever organizational skills). As is evident from the records, he is known to have called a meeting of all natives and especially prominent heads to brainstorm and strategize efforts needed for the war. This is romanticized in the form of a story in some sections. The story goes like this - Under the garb of organizing his son's wedding ceremony, Kedambadi Ramaiah Gowda had invited natives to partake in the celebrations. But the celebration was just a distraction for the British. As per the story's justification, it served two purposes - primarily attacking or any kind of suspicious behaviour over an auspicious ceremony would raise an outcry against the East India Company as cold-blooded killers, secondly, under the pretext of attending an event, the menfolk could secretly practice target shooting at Poomale Jungle, which geographically happens to be the floor of the Western Ghats. The natural barrier acts as a shield which could facilitate secretive training, meeting and logistics preparation needed for the war. And it is also said that Rajah's gun training instructors, Kurtu Kudiya and Chetti Kudiya were personally overlooking the target shooting training. It is for strategizing all these activities, Kedamadi Ramaiah Gowda is rightly called a Sangathan Chatur today. The place where he had called for mobilization is today known as Ubaradka Mittur at Sulya, Dakshina Kannada District - Karnataka. At the time of writing this book, efforts are in full swing to immortalize this iconic strategist at Ubaradka Mittur in the form of a heritage village at a designated site, commemorating the efforts of all the freedom fighters involved and their mobilization beginning from here. There is also an effort

going on to unveil a statue of Kedambadi Ramaiah Gowda at BaavutaGudde of Mangaluru, the place where the British flag was lowered on 05 April 1837. Also as we go through the records, we find him as a strategist for the reason that along with mobilizing resources at the floor of the western ghats - Poomale jungle, it was he who had planned of marching forthwith to Bellare to take hold of the treasury containing money of the natives which the East India Company had forcefully snatched over. In his capacity as the war hero and master strategist, Kedambadi Ramaiah Gowda rose against the confined notions of fixed territory, linguistic and also casteist barriers, as it is seen from history that as and when the Amara Sulya moment spread like a wildfire towards the port town, support started gathering in. The consequences faced by the supporters - some were hanged unto death, some jailed, some deported and some were blown off by cannons or guns. In this action, the esteemed names and whereabouts of many Gallant men/ warriors/sons of the soil have been lost to time.

As seen from the excerpt of the existing record here - ***"Kallianappa came from the Poomalèy jungle, with another Ramiah Gowda, and about 120 armed men. The whole party went to Bellarypet; the public servants and money were seized; Soobryah was sent with a force to Cassergode; the rest advanced to Pootoor, and repulsed the Sepoys. The rebel party here consisted of 200 armed men and 300 Ryots. From the Bungar Rajah's house, P. Antappa Shetty, and 200 armed men of Amara Soolya, advanced upon Mangalore. Many Ryots followed."***

*

It is in this pattern that the troop of the freedom fighters split up and progressed in the western direction to achieve their goal. More about the troop of freedom fighters that went eastward is covered in the Kattemane chapter of Part A of this book, wherewith honour, as a proud descendant (from the maternal line) I recount the tales of the mission that climbed the western ghats to oust East India Company. Coming back to the western theatre of the movement, in my journey that turned into exploring this incident, I was made aware of the honourable Lakshmappa Bangarasa of Nandavara (present-day Bantwal, Dakshina Kannada District, Karnataka). As per the records, P. Antappa Shetty is mentioned to have represented the Bangarasa household. From what I have heard, I shall share the narration here. Bangarasas are said to be powerful hereditary rulers from Tulunadu. In the year 1799 after Tipu's death parts of Tulunadu were consolidated as South Kanara and placed under the jurisdiction of the Madras Presidency. After this, all ruling households held only cultural and symbolic relevance as the administration was taken over by the British. Lakshmappa Bangarasa (name of the hereditary head said to have lived in that period) is said to have given a Nema (ritual held to invoke Daiva, the divine guardian spirits of Tulunad) to the guardian deity of his clan, Kodamandayee. It is a part of Nema for the Daiva to issue Nudi (forecast/speech of the spirits about the future). It is said that this Nema was not part of the annual ritual, but rather a special one given in honour of the Daiva, especially for seeking blessings for the movement. In this Nema it is said that the oracle pronounced that the received freedom would be lost due to the divisiveness amongst the native. Lakshmappa Bangarasa is said to have been put in the Mangalore Jail along with the other freedom fighters that were captured and also lodged

there. The Bangarasa is said to have swallowed his diamond ring while in jail and has begun Sallekhana (a practice in the Jain faith to voluntarily fast unto death) and the gruesome act unleashed by the British was so brutal that it is said that his corpse was dragged publicly till Bikarnakatte - Bangergudde (a small hillock at the outskirts of Mangalore) and hanged for days together along with the bodies of other freedom fighters to induce fear subconsciously in the minds of the natives. This was the reaction of the British as an answer to anti-colonial movements - how they would treat people engaged in such activities - no matter whether they belonged to the royal class or the ordinary class. The lands of the Bangarasa were swallowed into the East India Company's accounts (similar is the case from my paternal ancestry; the action which the British initiated against lands.) The record as evidence for the swallowing of land is included in Part B of this book. It is widely believed that after the incident, Kedambadi Ramaiah Gowda was deported to Singapore and nothing about him has been known after that date.

The fallen heroes live on in our hearts...

*

Here is another excerpt from the same book: *"Munjya then said he would bring a person that was born in the palace; he went, and brought the Kallianappa, who attacked Bellarypet. For a month before the outbreak he was lodged in the Poomaley jungle. The Coorgs and the people of Amara Soolya (the rebels) are in great dread of cannon. When a ship came with a cannon, which made darkness with its smoke (the Hugh Lindsay steamer) the news spread through Coorg in a moment, there being posts at every three miles."*

*

This reference looks back on Uppinangady Manja, a freedom fighter in the Amara Sulya movement, who was also hanged at Bikarnakatte - Bangergudde surrounding. The reference also recollects the supposed incident involving the hereditary administrator (Dharmadhikari) of the renowned Dharmasthala Temple. He is recalled with high esteem for his support of the cause of freedom in the form of a generous donation of two cannons for the freedom fighters. The context for the same is the Hugh Lindsay Steamer (the first steamship built in Bombay) which saw action in the Amara Sulya Freedom Movement as naval artillery of the British East India Company. The twin cannons were to serve as a counter to British naval artillery.

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HOUSEHOLD & PROMINENCE

180 years later the author, a descendant of the household, retouches that memory and shares the journey in discovering more about the background history - agriculture, martial customs, personal life of individuals, divinity among much more. Koojugodu Kattemane had been a representation of the Ikkeri Dynasty at Sulya since the time of Ikkeri Venkatappa Nayaka. A few centuries later, the seat of Koojugodu Kattemane Appaiah Gowda, the man that led a troop against Col. Williamson to recapture Madikeri fort from the British East India Company, only to never return.

CHAPTER - 7
KATTEMANE

02 February 2020

Koojugodu Kattemane

Deity within the Kattemane, Goddess Hosakote Kenchamma.

Koojugodu Kattemane's history predates that of the Amara Sulya incident. Post the Vijayanagara empire's dissolution, their vassals rose to prominence. Of them, the Ikkeri or Keladi Dynasty had their eyes set over the western coastal part and for a brief period thereafter had held their sway over the same too (they had even gone on to erect stone pillars and inscriptions marking their territory in these regions). It was during this tenure, particularly during the time of Ikkeri Venkatappa

Nayaka's reign when the international trade with the Portuguese was at an all-time high (also to a significant extent with the Arabs too). Portuguese at this time had their contracts, their trade posts set up throughout the chief ports from South Africa till Malaya and some trade-related disputes too, in short - it was a time when the Portuguese naval might was at its zenith. To hold a firm grip over the trade route passing from the western ports to the lands above the western ghats, Venkatappa Nayaka had the finest troops dispatched in batches to the floor on the western side of the western ghats to ensure steady security over the trade route and also take over the administration of the world-famous Subrahmanya Temple under its fold.

*

Robert Sewell in his book, **Archaeological Survey of Southern India. Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in The Presidency of Madras,** published in the year 1882 touches upon Subrahmanya. Wherein he describes Subrahmanya as being under the jurisdiction of Uppinangadi Taluk and 28 miles South-East of the Uppinangadi town. He mentions the Kukke Subrahmanya temple having two inscriptions on slabs, of which he writes one to be an inscription in Kannada script recording a grant of land to the temple in the year 1387 by a Madhava Raya of Goa. Another inscription that he particularly highlights is in some unknown characters is said to be at the Gopalakrishna temple of Bilinele a small hamlet afar Subrahmanya. Particularly about Subrahmanya temple, the author states that the administrative head of the temple was possessing a few copper-plate inscriptions of which he mentions six of them. One of them, probably the oldest he could lay his hands upon is a grant in Nagari script by a Mahadeva, whom he mentions as a sovereign of Goa.

The grant is in Nagari. He then mentions other grants found in other inscriptions during the period from 1407 to 1666. He then describes a grant dated 1681 in Kannada script by Venkatadri Nayaka and a Tippayya, of Belur, about which he says that its owner wouldn't part. Robert Sewell is informed about the deities, which he describes in his own words as - *"the principal objects of worship in the temple are two images of a naga and a six-faced deity (Karttikeya) which stand side by side in the garbhâlayam."*

*

Among this, a fine leader - a descent of the Keladi Nayakas - Keladi Thimma Nayaka, a general of the expedition of the batches settled and flourished as what is now known as the lineage of Koojugodu Kattemane. As he descended the ghats, he had the tutelary deity of his household with him, which he established here within the house architecture and whose worship has continued until this day.

A swing of the goddess, at the attic of the house.

One of my uncles, Kattemane Harish Gowda (the one who is currently residing at the Kattemane) recalled an incident where one of our ancestors would try sleeping on the swing and each time he attempted so, he was pushed

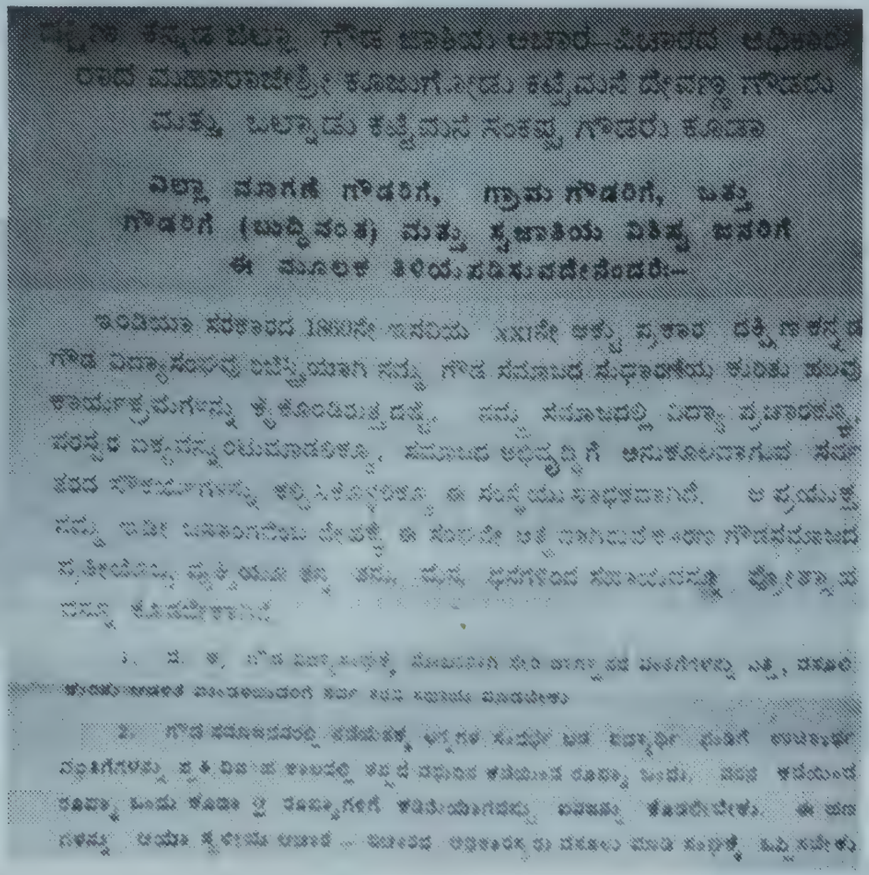
from it. The spooky sound of the swing moving at odd hours is believed as the goddess having her pastime. A warrior came down to ensure control over an international trade route and eventually settled down looking after the duties. Thus a new legacy was born, the Kattemane - representative of the palace of the Ikkeri Dynasty at Sulya of Tulunad and continued for some centuries afterwards.

My mother recollected an incident that her mother would tell during her childhood. Once there was a huge flood around the Kattemane it seems, so much so that the water had submerged in it the yard of the house. At this moment, my great grandfather who had refused to leave the house had gone into the area housing the deity and had prayed to her. Miraculously after this, the water level had gradually begun receding it seems! I shared this incident here to let one know about the geography around Kattemane. Although located in the middle of the thick jungles of the floor of the Western Ghats, what sets it apart is the fact that the geography itself acts like its shield from

all external threats. Kattemane is undoubtedly a well-fortified island surrounded by water bodies of the western ghats. One has to cross them to reach the venue! Although a bridge was put in place during the time of my maternal grandmother's cousin brother - Kattemane Venkataramana Gowda (1905 - 1980), what I had observed at the time of this writing is that the bridge simply couldn't stand the test of time or probably it wasn't able to break through the history of that territory!

Kattemane Venkataramana Gowda was the first MLA elected from the undivided Puttur constituency during the first-ever elections of independent India in 1952. On the occasion of his 115th birth anniversary in the year 2020, a special cover was released by the Department of Posts, Government of India.

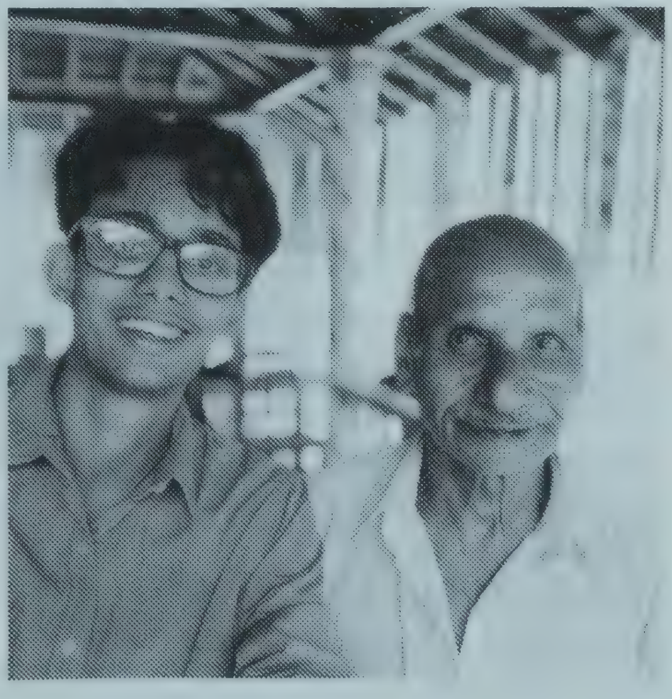
The Kattemane as a representative of the Ikkeri dynasty at Sulya had under its ambit the ruling over the jurisprudence of Sulya. Under the instructions of the Vijayanagar (later Ikkeri Dynasty) system guided by the Sringeri Mutt, authority over Puttur and Sulya of Tulunad was divided between



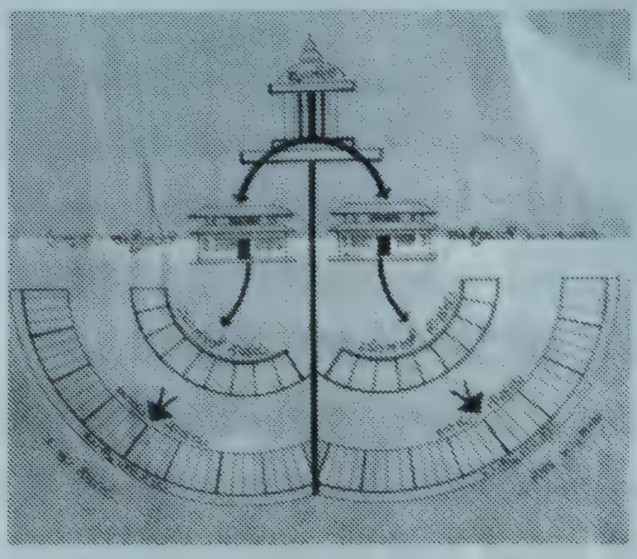
A record bearing my maternal great-grandfather's titular name (Maharaje Shri Koojugodu Kattemane Devanna Gowda).

Balnad Kattemane and Koojugodu Kattemane respectively. Under these Kattemane, 18 Maagane Mane come as minor representatives over different directions of the territory, which is thus assisted by Oora Gowdara Mane wherein each Oora Gowda is assisted by an Ottu Gowda (Ottu means assistant). This tradition of ours also finds itself mentioned in a work published in 1894 titled Madras District Manuals: South Canara, Vol. 1, by Sir John Sturrock. When my dad had taken me to the Kattemane, I was shown a chart by Kattemane Dharmapala Gowda, who has all the records of the bygone royal authority that the Kattemane had orchestrated as per the instructions representing the interests of the Ikkeri Dynasty.

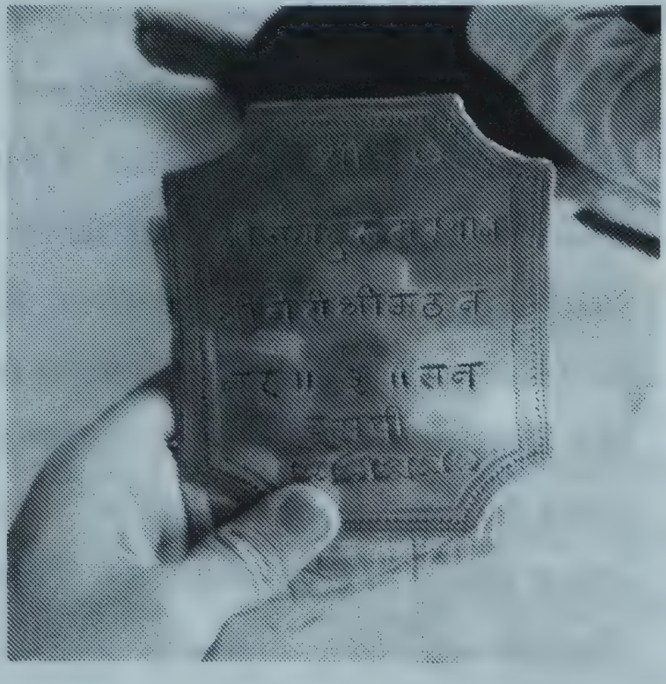
With Kattemane Dharmapala Gowda, custodian of existing records on the Kattemane. (He is my maternal grandmother's elder brother's son). During his childhood, he would perform the pooja and other related activities of the Kenchamba deity at the Kattemane as he grew up there during his schooling. Thanks to him, he recalled and shared some memories and helped me in understanding more by showing some records, which for the sake of convenience have been included as a subchapter under the title Kattemane Records.



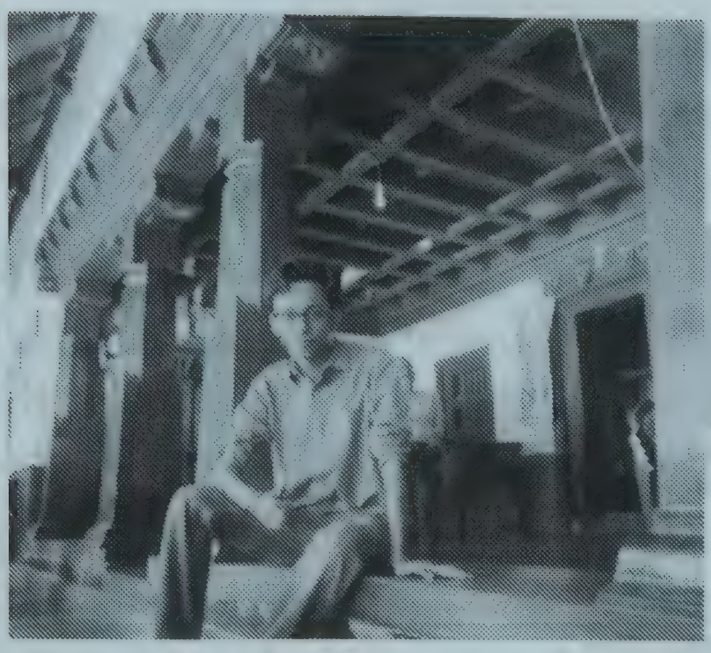
Kattemane Dharmapala Gowda showed me this chart depicting the administration carried out by both Kattemanes under the guidance of Sringeri Mutt at Sulya and Puttur.



It is said that during the time of my maternal great grandfather, tax money for the Sringeri Mutt was ceremonially collected for the last time, after which all ceremonial administrative powers were also disbanded. As a representative of the Ikkeri Dynasty, this engraving on copper was issued for the Kattemane as a bonafide granting of authority for the job. It is said that this engraving was carried along when the tax was collected at Sulya. Interestingly in old ballads of Tulunadu called Paddana (which are in the Tulu language), one comes across references to Gaavunda (the traditional word/actual word from which Gowda has been derived/modernized) coming down from above the Western Ghats for tax collection.



There was a time in the bygone days when the Kattemane Gowda seated here would hear and settle disputes and also take important decisions sitting here. This



Kattemane - the seat of jurisdiction!

parampara (uninterrupted succession of the tradition) had its last technically during my maternal great grandfather's period. But before that, this same soil bears testimony to an ancestor before him, who had taken the ultimate decision of fighting for the soil against the British East India Company. This is where in history, Freedom Fighter Koojugodu Kattemane Appaiah Gowda is recalled. Kattemane head at that time as per the parampara, it is said that he and his brother, Koojugodu Mallappa Gowda collectively decided to lead a troop up the Bisle passage of the Western Ghats to reclaim the Madikeri Fort which the East India Company had swallowed into its fold in 1834 after dethroning the last Rajah of Kodagu, Chikka Vira Rajah of the Haleri Dynasty. It is also said that Aparampara, a central figure, a mysterious character at the time of the Amara Sulya movement had been here for shelter and also to make strategies in preparation for the movement. The location of the Kattemane made for an excellent hiding point as there was no way for the adversaries to reach here.

Supporting the happening of the incident is an excerpt taken from **The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China, and Australia - Volume**

23 published by WM. H. ALLEN AND CO. in the year - 1837.

"It is known that the enemy is strongly stockaded at the Bisley Ghaut. Col. Williamson's force was to march against them from the French Rocks on the 9th April, and by this time he may have probably dislodged them. Capt. Le Hardy marched out at the head of 700 Coorgs, accompanied by Col. Isaacke and the 36th regt., to reconnoitre the Bissley, but finding the enemy's position too strong, they were obliged to return to Mercara. It is perhaps to be regretted that this movement was made at all. The force under Col. Williamson is as follows, viz.: half a troop of horse artillery; squadron of the 6th light cavalry; a brigade of six-pounders, and a brigade of howitzers-200 men of H. M. 39th regt., and the 19th and 27th regts. N.I. The want of Europeans we think must be apparent, and we trust they will be supplied. - 1bid, April 18th."

*

As a remembrance of the above incident in the Amara Sulya Movement, I remember hearing our elders recalling a sentence in the Arebhashe language - native to Sulya and Kodagu. ***"Avu attha hogola, bisile margali dandige hogolo!"*** Which when translated to English means - "they had gone that way, they have gone in the route of the Bisle Ghat!" This memory has remained as an orally remembered incident in our culture's history. Upon studying the records in Part B of this book, the records show the purpose for Colonel Williamson to be sent to fight against our elders at the scenic Bisle passage of the Western Ghats. The fate of our fighters that braved the thick jungle slipped into oblivion

as they had left when the call of the duty had arrived, this part in the whole movement gave rise to the British to consider taking into account the need for a road to be built from Madikeri to Sampaje (initially as a military line to move troops and artillery) connecting the lands above the ghats to the port, the same road that is still in use today, as one of the National Highways of India.

Supporting the happening of the incident is an excerpt taken from Professional Papers on Indian Engineering, Vol. III, written by Major J.G. Medley and published by Thomason College Press in the year - 1866.

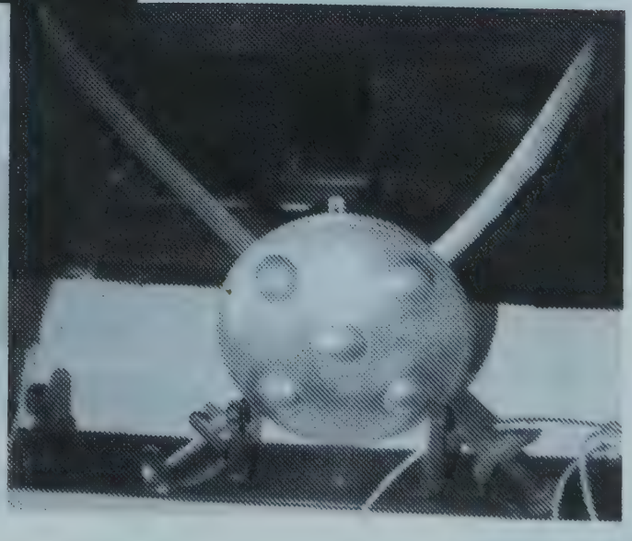
"When the Coorg insurrection broke out in 1837, the troops quartered at Mangalore, the chief town of the district, were actually unable to penetrate the thick forest which overspread lower Coorg, now a part of Canara; nor could artillery be moved along such broken and singularly steep and tortuous ways as were then the only means of traversing the country. With a view to prosecute the war, and when brought to a close, to pacify the district, a first class Ghaut was lined out from Mercara, 3,000 feet above the sea, to the small hamlet of Sumpage at the foot"

Upon further reading, Major J.G. Medley has mentioned the cost for finishing the project to have amounted to "£400 a mile" back then! The road is mentioned to have been among the best roads in the "whole of Madras Presidency" and that the cost of maintenance was "£10 per mile per annum."

*

On the other side is the Koojugodu house, representing the lineage of Freedom Fighter, Koojugodu Mallappa Gowda who along with Koojugodu Kattemane Appaiah Gowda ascended the Ghats to lead a pack of freedom fighters. This

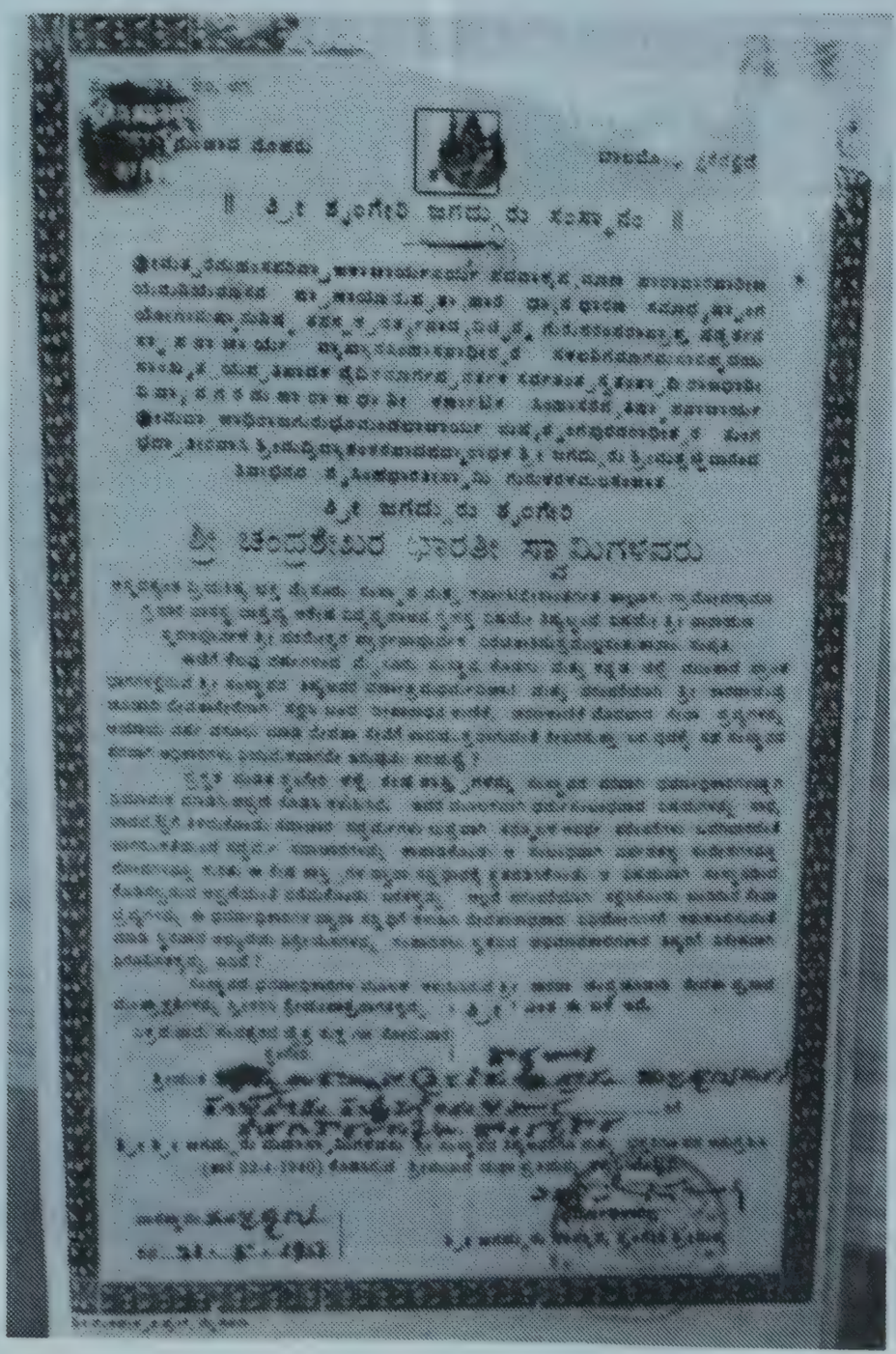
house treasures collection of twin swords, completely with its shield, good historical antiquities like a handwoven bamboo casket, handmade folding chambers, among a lot of other such matters culturally of historical importance and interest to students of history and admirers alike. The architecture has been consistently kept afresh, altogether a painstaking affair only for the future generations to see, understand and appreciate the grandeur of a culture that gave this land undisturbed administration for centuries.

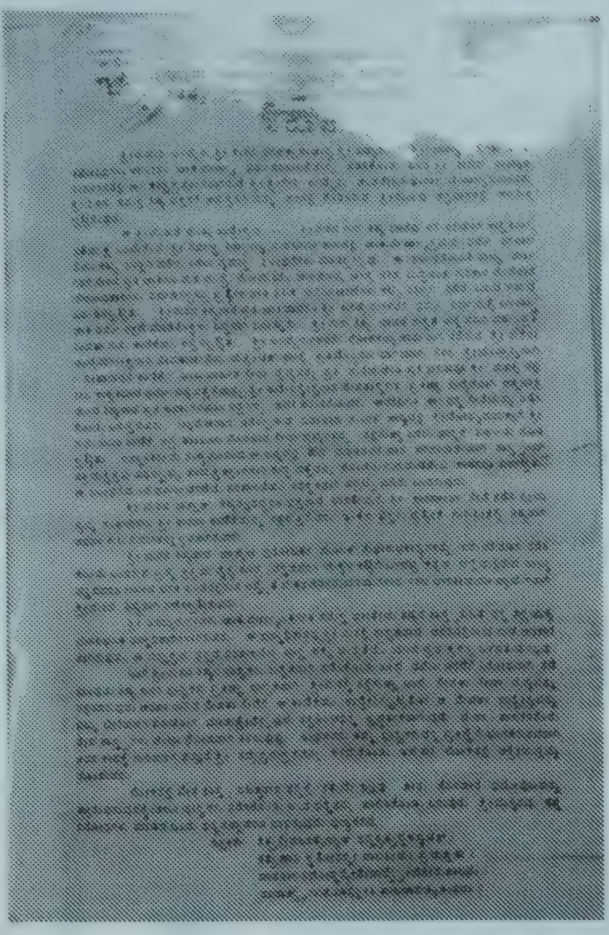


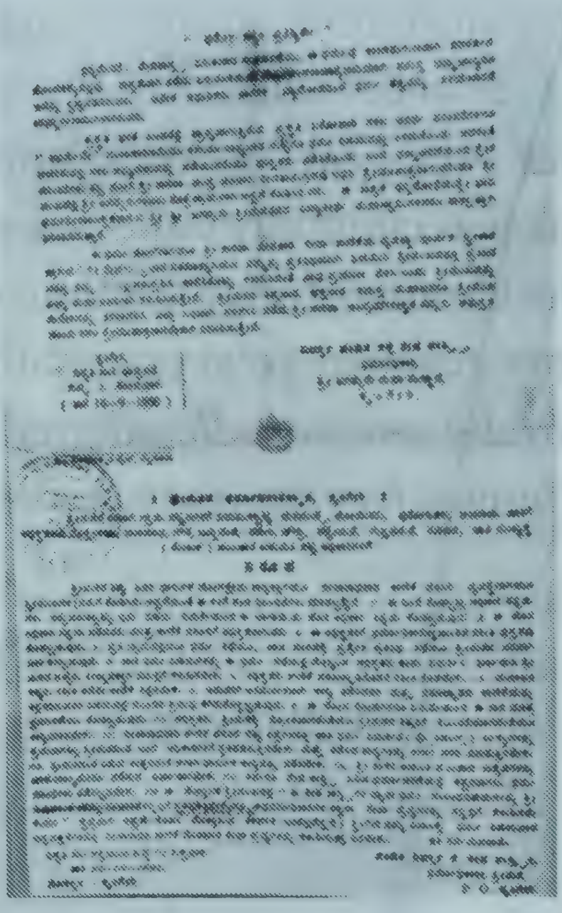
CHAPTER - 7.1
KATTEMANE RECORDS

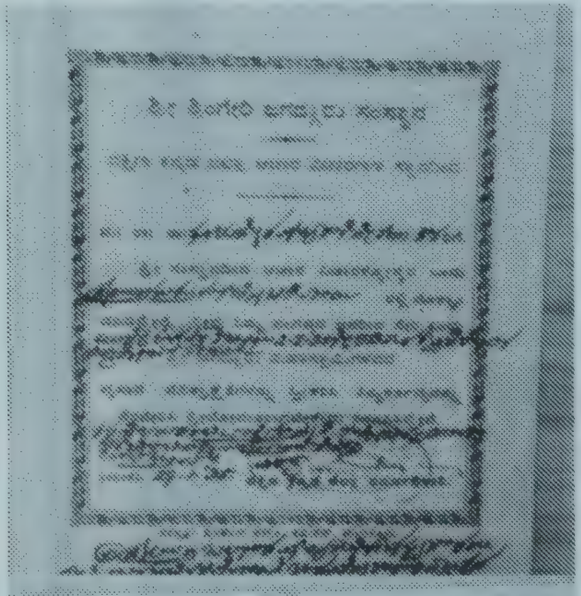
These are the existing records, the last tangible remains of a martial administrative authority of the bygone centuries, preserved safely by Kattemane Dharmapala Gowda. As a guide to the Ikkeri Dynasty that had held sway over the region of Tulunad in the medieval period and also an active participant in International trade (especially with the Portuguese), the Sringeri Mutt [Sri Sringeri Jagadguru Samsthanam] issued proclamations to the administrative entities whom the Mutt considered its disciples. At the eastern boundary of Tulu Nadu namely Puttur and Sulya, the authority over all aspects of the Gowda community was looked after by the Kattemane (the title Kattemane was given in honour of the same duty). The proclamations ensured authority for execution of the tasks as commanded by the Palace which in turn was the direction given by the Mutt itself. These records which are existing

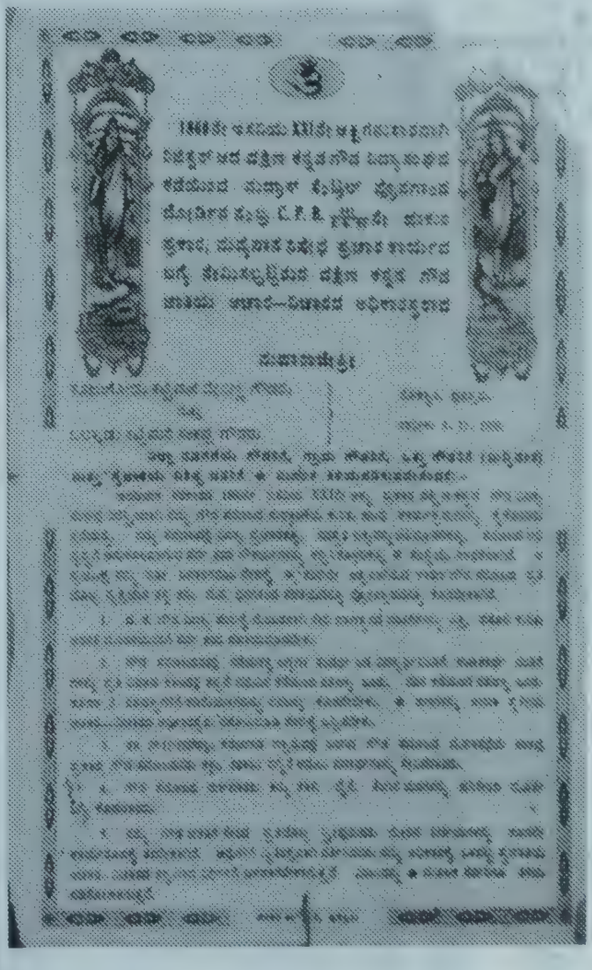
today, speak on the rights to carry out duties, the responsibilities entrusted and the need to uphold the promise of carrying out the duty as prescribed. For the last time in the last ~492 years (as at the time of writing this chronicle), the tax was culturally collected and systematically recorded for the last time during the time of Kattemane Devanna Gowda (my maternal great grandfather) after whose generation, all royally sanctioned/conferred duties since the time of Keladi Thimma Nayaka (the founder of the lineage) came to an end.

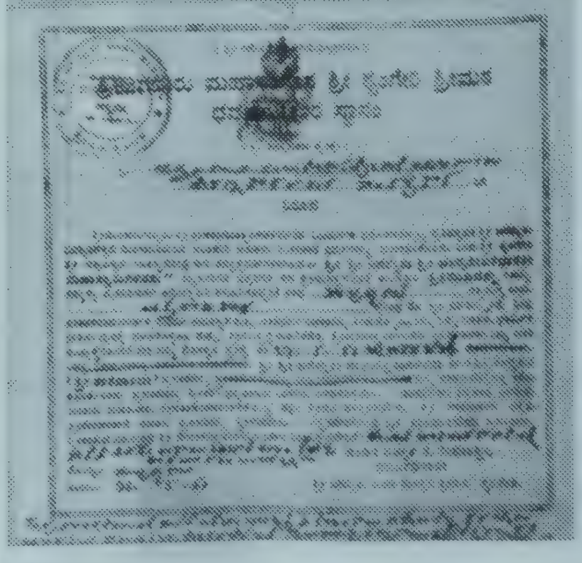












PART - B

COMPILATION
OF
RECORDS

F.C. Brown (Francis Carnac Brown), Esq. of Tellicherry (1838). LETTERS TO AND FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, RELATIVE TO THE DISTURBANCES IN CANARA, IN APRIL, 1837

I was informed by a Native of Mangalore, that he saw the town crier go about the town, about a month ago (October, 1837), with a paper in his (the crier's) hands, from which he read aloud, that all persons were forbidden to speak of the late disturbances, under pain, if heard, of being taken up and committed to Jail. I asked the reason of this Proclamation. "To frighten and silence the people," replied the man.

From Professional Papers on Indian Engineering, Vol. III, an old map of the South Kanra from 1866. Tulunadu, the traditional name, represents the area that includes present-day Karnataka state's Dakshina Kannada and Udupi districts, as well as Kerala's Kasargod district.

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AUTHOR'S NOTE:

As I continued writing about the observations around me, my curiosity over the existence of surviving records intensified. Initially, I did not expect to find anything on the subject. As it is more than 180 years after it occurred, I assumed that not many documents would have survived. However, as luck would have it, the significance of the incident in history led me to come across several notable items. I spent considerable time searching for sources, validating the data, and reading and noting important points. I didn't realize how deep history extended before embarking on this journey, let alone discovering such historical significance. I was surprised by how much history was lost.

The following pages attempt to bring a record of the Amara Sulya movement into the public domain and significant events from the past that has influenced the incident.

Under each excerpt's source is select content from important international literary works. The author's note is present wherever an additional explanation or emphasis is necessary.

CHAPTER - 1
REPORTAGE

INDIA.

(From the Times of India, October 29.)

We regret to learn that Brigadier-General M'Donell, commanding the Madras Northern District, died of apoplexy at Madras, on the 17th October, General M'Donell had only been in Madras four days, having arrived from Trichinopoly on the 13th. He entered the service in January, 1826, and in April last was appointed Brigadier-General of the second-class and to the command of the Southern district. Some two months ago he was promoted to the first-class and transferred to the Northern district. The late General was present with the force that marched from Bangalore on the 8th April, 1857, to quell the insurrection in Canara, was employed in the suppression of the mutiny in Bengal 1857-58-59, commanded the field detachment that proceeded from Dorundah to Chota Nagpore to subdue the insurgents, defeated the rebels in an engagement on the 22nd January, 1858, capturing four small field-pieces, totally routing the enemy, and killing their leader. Served with the force under Major-General Whitlock, K.C.B., in Bundlecund, and commanded the Infantry detachment that proceeded in March, 1859, under Brigadier Faddy, against Runnust Singh.

The Sydney Herald as well as Launceston Advertiser (12 October 1837)

Insurrection in Canara.—The distressing intelligence of a formidable insurrection in the province of Canara, reached government by express on Sunday evening. The particulars so far as we have been able to collect them are these :—It seems that the government had for some days been informed that the district was in a disturbed state, that the dawk runners had been murdered, the communication cut off, and that the Collector had gone into the interior of the province for the purpose of quelling the disturbances, which it was also known were led by a discontented Chief from the Coorg country. On the 30th ultimo the town of Mangalore, to which it appears the Collector had returned, driven back we believe by the insurgents, was invested by an irregular force of 5,000 armed men, principally Moplas of the country of Canara, there being at the time no larger force in the town than 250 Sepoys, the head quarters of the 2nd Regiment N. I. The approach of this large force was hardly known, for they seemed to have planned their attack with the utmost secrecy, before the troops were driven out of their lines, were set fire to by the insurgents. A vessel, the barque Eamont, from Bombay, happened providentially to be passing the port, and signals of distress being hoisted on the flag staff, she stood into the Roads. Mr. Bird, the Judge, and M. Damergue, we believe the only two European gentleman having familes in the place, immediately proceeded on board, left their wives and children and returned with the Captain of the ship to the shore. On their return they found the troops drawn up on the beach, and Mr. Lewin the Collector, Mr. Reade, Mr. Maltby and Mr. Chatfield with them, awaiting the final attack of the rebels, who had already infested the town in every direction, in such a manner as apparently to render escape hopeless. With this conviction Messrs. Bird and Damergue returned with the Commander of the Eamont to the vessel—the latter having promised a reinforcement of two six-pounders and a few muskets to the small but gallant band,

thus left to withstand alone the attack of their formidable enemy. The boat which took the Commander off, in going out of the mouth of the river, had to pass under the fire of a body of matchlock men, but happily their shots did not take effect. Almost immediately after the party reached the vessel, it seems that one simultaneous attack was made on all quarters of the town, which was on fire from one end to the other in an instant. To complete the horror of the scene the powder magazine blew up at the same moment. The Eamont, with her party on board, immediately made sail for Cananore with the object of obtaining that succour which it was impossible for the Commander or his passengers personally to render, and thus the fate of the unfortunate party who were left on shore is still unknown. The discipline of organised troops is not easily overcome by the irregular force of an ill-armed populace, and we may trust that the experienced Officer (Colonel Dowker), by whom the regiment was commanded, aided by the cool judgment and abilities of Mr. Lewin, the Collector, will have a way of retreat from this most awful situation. We must remain, however, for the present in a state of painful uncertainty as to the fate of these gallant and devoted individuals. Brigadier Allen's force from Cananore, is by this time doubtless on the spot, and the prompt measures that have been taken will doubtless pour into the province a sufficient force to overwhelm the spirit of insurrection, which appears, we are grieved to think, to have overspread the whole province. We are happy to learn that by expresses received from Colonel Cubbon, and Captain Le Hardy, it is stated that not a sign of disturbance or dissatisfaction has shown itself in Mysore, or Coorg, and that those authorities have every confidence in the devotion of all the people above the Ghauts.—Madras Paper, April 11.

British media (Newspaper) reportage of the incident as seen by F.C. Brown - *"Since my arrival in England, I have turned to some of the English Papers, and content myself with inserting, as specimens, the two following extracts of "Mangalore News", the first from a daily Paper, the Morning Herald, the other from a weekly Paper, the Naval and Military Gazette."*

Morning Herald, Sept. 4, 1837.

INVASION AT MANGALORE

The following is an extract of a letter from an Officer of H. M. S. Winchester, dated Bombay, May 5, 1837 :- " The Admiral fixed the 15th of April as the day of our sailing for Colombo, when, ***on the evening of the 11th, an express was received of an invasion at Mangalore, and the hostile appearance of the Coorgs before the town to the member of 30,000 men, with the declaration from the authorities that they could hold out but a few days longer.*** *A messenger was sent on shore by the Captain to state that, at the request of Sir John Kean, Commander-in-Chief, the Winchester would sail with a part of H. M.'s 6th regiment, and a Brigade of Artillery, at daylight next morning; and, therefore, to prepare accordingly and be on board; and at eleven o'clock the next day we sailed for Mangalore, with 200 of the 6th regiment, commanded by Major Crawford, and the Artillery, which were to be followed by the Hugh Lindsay, with 200 more. Mangalore is about 400 miles to the southward of Bombay: and on our passage down we spoke the Atlanta steamer, from England, living touched at Cochin for coals,*

She informed us that the Coorgs were in great force at Mangalore; and a Major of the -, commanding 600 men, had been defeated by them. This news being taken on to Bombay, ***the Atalanta and Amherst, Company's sloops of war, sailed the following day with the 23rd Regiment to reinforce us.*** *We arrived at Mangalore in forty-nine hours from Bombay, having had a splendid passage, and found the town still in the possession of the English. The Coorgs had been twice repulsed; but they succeeded in burning the houses of the Collector, Judge , and many others, with all their property, and it was by the greatest miracle that the ladies escaped on board ship, and got down to Cannanore, where the 57th regiment are yet quartered, and Wellman, Bate, and many of our old friends are there also. We landed the troops immediately. Captain Uniacke was ready with his detachment of Royal Marines, to share in the glory if necessary. In a few days after, the Atalanta and Amherst arrived, when we went to Cassergode, and landed the 35th regiment there, a distance of thirty miles south of Mangalore. We returned to Mangalore in a few days, and found the enemy had disappeared everywhere; and as we could be of no further assistance, started immediately for Bombay, and arrived here yesterday."*

Naval and Military Gazette, Sept. 16, 1837.

[From A CORRESPONDENT.] –

Observing that the statement in your Paper of the 9th inst., relating to the affair at Mangalore, has created some doubt as to its authenticity, you may rely upon the following facts lately received from that quarter:–

"Towards the latter end of March, Mangalore was attacked by a numerous body of insurgents, and, during a few hours, burned to the ground, with property to a considerable amount the insurgents declaring no war to the Europeans. Major of the Company's N.I., gallantly defended the place, and thereby saved the lives of all the civilians and women on the station; some of the latter escaped on board a vessel accidentally in the roads, others by boats to Tellicherry and to Cannanore. So well organized were the insurgents, that all communication was cut off with the Mysore, and the different places on the coast, for several days; at length Mr. - of the Civil Service, with the wives and famillies of other Civilians and Officers, arrived in open boats at Cannanore, and having reported these facts to Brigadier —, commanding 11. M. 57th Regiment in Malalar, that Officer immediately ordered 100 men of the 2nd N. 1., 400 of the 4th N. I, the flank Companies of H.M. 57th regiment, and a Company of Artillery, Pioneers, Lascars, &c. &c., under Colonel– who arrived without molestation, and relieved Major –'s party at Mangalore, on the 12th or 13th of April. In the meanwhile Brigadier placed the Fort and Cantonments on the coast on the war establishment, which restored confidence to the Rajahs and other Chiefs who had applied to him for protection, in that neighbourhood. On the 16th of April, 200 of H. M. 2nd regiment arrived from Bombay: shortly after, Colonel 's party was considerably augmented by other detachments of troops from the northward, and, when the last accounts left Mangalore, orders had arrived from Madras directing Brigadier to proceed with a large force to take possession of the Lower Coorg country, and probably into the Mysore. Reports, however, had reached us, that the

Niars to the southward af Cochin were in open rebellion against the authorities, and that European troops might be required in the Travancore district."

The British Friend of India Magazine, And Indian Review, Vol. III, February - July, Sherwood, Gilbert, & Piper, Paternoster Row; London - 1843.

"In the year 1838, all the seven missionaries were labouring in Canara, ***In the course of that year, the tyranny of the tax-collectors drove the natives to desperation: they rushed into Mangalore-a panic seized the tyrants-they fled-and in their fright they abandoned their families to what they considered certain destruction. The missionaries naturally fled with the Government functionaries, civil and military.*** *A letter from India announced this insurrection in the following words: -"There is little doubt of its being an extensive and well-laid plan. It can hardly end without much bloodshed and a protracted struggle. It is feared that the houses and property of the German missionaries, stationed in Canara, have been destroyed, but their lives have been mercifully preserved." But the next news was, that after a little time the insurrection was effectually subdued.* ***The fact is, it was not a planned insurrection,-it was merely the sudden impulse of a mob driven to desperation against the tyrant collectors of more than half their crop".***

WM. H. ALLEN AND CO., (1837). The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China, and Australia - Volume 23.

"A private letter from Bombay, of the 28th of April, speaks of the arrival of the Atalanta steam vessel, on the

13th, in that port, as most opportune, intelligence having reached Bombay, the day before, of an insurrection in the neighbourhood. of Mangalore, threatening the safety of that place, which, it is added, had been left in a very unprotected state by the Madras Government. The Winchester flag ship and Hugh Lindsay were despatched with troops on the 13th, and reached Mangalore in fifty-seven hours; the Atlanta followed on the 14th, and reached it in fifty hours: each steam-vessel had also boats in tow. On their arrival, it was found that Mangalore had been relieved by troops from Cannanore, and others were on the eve of returning, but had been detained in consequence of an express, stating the whole country to be in a state of rebellion. There is supposed to be some exaggeration in this; but no further details are given. Should it prove true, the subjection of the country anew would have to be undertaken, and turn out, in all probability a very troublesome affair. – ***London Paper***".

***

CHAPTER - 2
COUNTER INSURGENCY

Author's Note

In 1806, a movement sprang up in Vellore (Tamil Nadu, southern India), known as the Vellore Mutiny of 1806. A mutiny is where soldiers/sailors of an armed force revolt against their command. In the case of the Vellore Mutiny, it was because of Sir John Craddock, the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, that it occurred. He had issued prohibitory orders to Indian Hindus and Muslims in the Army of the British East India Co. to get rid of religious marks and facial hair. By getting rid of the symbolic religious identifiers, they were ordered to wear hats (this meant the replacement of traditional headgear which some had been sporting until the orders came). It irked the militia (one interpretation is that the sepoys felt they were being converted to Christianity). Vellore's mutiny resulted from the British East India Co.'s failure to recognize and respect the religious sensitivity of Indians.

"The Amara Sulya movement resulted from the British East India Company's failure to conduct effective policy-making on foreign soil."

Following is the record of European soldiers who had taken part in crushing the Amara Sulya movement. It only proves that it was Indians (not sepoys/soldiers under the command of the East India Co.) on the soil of Tulunad vs the Army of the British East India Company.

"The sons of the earth saw the earth as a mother who nourished all, as opposed to a megalomaniacal corporation that saw it as just a resource to increase profits."

*

H.G. Hart (1873). The new army list, by H.G. Hart [afterw.] Hart's army list. [Quarterly]

Major General H. W. Blake served during the insurrection in Canara in 1837. *Also the rebellion in the Golcondah Zemindary in 1848.*

Colonel T. Stock Served with the expedition to Mangalore and Canara in 1837*, and in Upper and lower Sind from 1839 to 1841. (mentioned as Major General T. Stock in the new Annual Army list published by the same author in 1878).*

Colonel C. R. W. Hervey served with the 23rd Bombay N.I. in the expedition to Mangalore and Canara in 1837*; and with the Sind Irregular Horse as and in Command, and for some time in command of that corps and of a [unclear] Levy in Upper Sind in 1840-42; with a wing of his regiment in Cutch and in command of H. H. the Rao's Horse in the Runn In 1843-44. Served as Aide de Camp and Secretary to Sir James Outram*

in the Expedition to Persia, [unclear] the march to Borazjoon, action at Khooshab, and the operations at Mohumra in 1857 (Brevet of Major, Medal with Clasp. and CB).

***Colonel J. T. Barr served in the expedition to Mangalore in 1837**, and in the campaign in the Southern Mahratta Country in 1845.*

***Captain Croker served with a Detachment of the 6th Regt. sent from Bombay in 1837 against the rebels in Canara**. Served in the Kaffir war of 1846-47 (was Acting Adjutant in the Trans-Kei expedition); also in that of 1850-52 (Medal), - at the commencement of which he was appointed Field Adjutant, - in July 1851 Acting Brigade Major, and in Feb. 1852 D.A.Q.M.G. of the 1st Brigade; was engaged in all the principal affairs of the war; five times noticed in general orders, and repeatedly in despatches.*

*

H.G. Hart (1875) Volume 36 The New annual army list, by H.G. Hart [afterw.] Hart's annual army list

***Brigadier General W.G Woods served with a detached force in co-operation with Colonel Green's Brigade in suppressing the insurrection in Canara in 1837.** Was on field service in the Saugor Division ant Bundlecund in 1842-43, and present at the affair at Simeeriah, and when in command of a field detachment, consisting of a troop of the 6th Light Cavalry and a Company of the 43rd Native Infantry, surprised a party of rebels north of the Nerbudda. Was employed as Brigade Major to the Madras Troops in the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories during the Gwalior campaign of 1843-44. (mentioned as Major General in the year 1878).*

Edmund Burke (1881). The Annual Register: A Review of Public Events At Home and Abroad for the year 1880

On January 24, at Ryde, ***Lieutenant General William George Woods, C.S.I., late*** *of the Madras Staff Corps, and formerly of the Madras Cavalry.* ***He was employed in suppressing the insurrections in Canara in 1837,*** *at Bundeland in 1842-43, and in the Gwalior campaign.*

*

Major H.G. Hart, Depot Battalion (1855). The New Army List, and Militia List

Major General Fraser acted as Staff Officer to a Detachment sent from Bombay in 1837 against the rebels in Canara *Served also with the 6th Regiment in the Kaffir war of 1846-47 (Medal).*

The New Annual Army List, Militia List, And Indian Civil Service List For 1878, Major General H. G. Hart; John Murray, London – 1878

Captain Staunton *served as a volunteer with the Royal African Corps upwards of four years before he was appointed to an Ensigncy.* ***In 1837 he accompanied the detachment of the 6th Regt. with the Bombay field force employed against the insurgents in Canara.*** *Served also on the Eastern frontier of the Cape of Good Hope from the end of 1846 until the termination of the Kaffir War in 1847. Was Commandant of East London, British Kaffraria, during the Kaffir War of 1852-53 (Medal).*

Captain Blanckley served with a detachment of the 6th Regt. sent from Bombay In 1837 against the rebels in Canara. *Also in the Kaffir War of 1846-7; and throughout*

the whole of the Kaffir War and Hottentot rebellion of 1851-2-3, was present with the Regt. on nearly every patrole, and several times engaged with the enemy; commanded the Regt. in a skirmish at the Caboula hill, 29th June 1851, when it formed the rear guard to the division then protecting a capture of 1,500 head of Gaika cattle (Medal).

Captain Croker served with a detachment of the 6th Regt. sent from Bombay in 1837 against the rebels in Canara. *Served in the Kaffir war of 1846-47 (was acting Adjutant in the Trans Kei Expedition); also in that of 1850-52 (Medal), at the commencement of which he was appointed Field Adjutant, — in July 1851 acting Brigade Major, and in Feb. 1852 D.A.Q.M.G. of the 1st Brigade: was engaged in all the principal affairs of the war ; five times noticed in General Orders, and repeatedly in Dispatches.*

Lt. Col. Allan served with a detachment 57th Regt. against the Rebels in Canara in 1837. *Commanded the 2nd Infantry Brigade in the Eusoofzie campaign of 1858. Commanded the troops on board the ship Eastern Monarch when she blew up and caught fire at Spithead on the 3rd June 1859, on which occasion a General order was issued expressing the Commander in Chief's gratification at the conduct of Lt. Col. Allan,and officers and men, and another conveying the Queen's approbation of the discipline and good order displayed under such trying circumstances.*

*

Lieutenant General H.G. Hart (1881). Volume 42 - Hart's Annual Army List, Special Reserve List, and Territorial Force List

Lieut. General G.A. Baillie *served in the Burmese war of 1824-26 (Medal with Clasp).* ***Was engaged in the suppression of the insurrection in Canara in 1837.***

Major H.M. Vibart, Royal (Late Madras) Engineers (1888). Vol.II - The Military History of The Madras Engineers and Pioneers, From 1743 up to the present time

At the close of the campaign, ***Captain C. Le Hardy (who had joined the Pioneers in 1826, and had been Adjutant), was appointed the first Superintendent of Coorg. This officer distinguished himself greatly in 1837, during the insurrection in Canara.*** *There was a panic at Mangalore -* ***Captain Le Hardy, with a few hundred Coorg Volunteers, descended into the plains and quelled the disturbance by shooting a few score of the rebels. The Government, in recognition of this service, presented him with 5,000 rupees, and afterwards gave him the post of Superintendent at Nuggur, in Mysore Province.*** *He retired from the service in 1819, as a Brevet-Major, and died in April 1882, in his eighty-first year.*

*

The Vellore Mutiny, 1806, the first uprising against the British; Perumal Chinnian - 1982

The provinces of Malabar and Canara was garrisoned by the British Army from 1792.

*

Mysore and Coorg: Mysore, in general; Benjamin Lewis Rice; Mysore Government Press - 1877

Siledars. - The Savar Siledar or Siledar Horse form the body of irregular cavalry kept up under the above treaty.

They have several times served beyond the frontiers of Mysore as auxiliaries in the campaigns of the British Army in Southern India, as also in assisting to maintain order.

In 1802, 800 Siledars accompanied Colonel Stevenson in the expedition to Manantoddy.

In the Canara insurrection of 1838, they were required to cross the frontier and afford assistance.

*

Madras Artillery Records, Volume 14; Madras Presidency, Army - 1838

Coorg Field Force, dated 24th April 1834.- Major Montgomery was thanked in G. O. by Government of India for conduct, (when in Civil employ) during the insurrection in Canara in 1837.

*

Bengal: Past and Present, Volume 54; Calcutta Historical Society - 1937

One of the best, steady, continuous marches of late years, in the hot season, that we have heard of, was of H. M's 39th going to quell an insurrection in Canara. In this instance 220 men of the 39th marched in the month of April to Canara, going 195 miles in nine days, without a casualty."

*

A list of the officers of the army, ordnance and medical departments, serving under the Presidency of Fort St. George: With an Index; Madras Presidency, army - 1822.

Excerpt from the book: *Sixth Regiment Native Infantry Ensign*

C.F. Le Hardy - 13 Feb. 1821

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Thirty years in India: or, a soldier's reminiscences of native and European life in the presidencies; Vol. II; Major H. Bevan, late 27th regiment E.I.C. Madras Native Infantry; Pelham Richardson, London - 1839

Author's Note

Following is the recount of Major Henry Bevan of Madras Native Infantry (British East India Co.) on his experience as a soldier defeating the freedom fighters of India.

He has been quite poetic in describing some of the episodes in the counter military campaign he was a part of. I had not expected to find an account from the British point of view as it has been more than 180 years after this occurred. But anyway, here we are!

*

A more daring outrage than any I have recorded led to an open revolt in Canara, a district whose inhabitants have been long more celebrated for their courage than any of the surrounding Hindoos. Even in the days of Camoens, their frontier, the western ghauts, were described as the only check on their spirit of enterprise: the friendly Moor is represented as saying to Gama, -

Behold-these mountain tops of various size
Blend their dim ridges with the fleecy skies;
Nature's rude wall, against the fierce Canar,
They guard the fertile plains of Malabar.

The insurrection first broke out at Bellary Pett, where the treasure under the charge of the native collector was seized, and that functionary imprisoned. Information was sent to Mangalore by the civil magistrate, and Major D. marched to suppress the revolt, with a detachment of about one hundred and fifty men. On reaching Patoor it was unfortunately deemed inexpedient to attack the insurgents with so small a force; a retreat commenced and was effected with the loss of about forty men. This success spread the flame of revolt so widely that it was supposed by some that Mangalore itself would be abandoned, and in anticipation of such a result, the women and children were sent to Cannanore. This circumstance encouraged the Mapillas of Mangalore to insult the sepoys, to plunder the houses of several officers, and to encourage the insurgents by sending them provisions and liberating their companions from confinement. Major D. selected the most defensible position he could find, which he secured as well as circumstances would admit, and placing the public treasure within it, calmly awaited the advance of the enemy. He was soon attacked by large bodies of Canarese and disaffected Coorgs, but every effort of the assailants was repulsed with equal coolness and gallantry. The arrival of a strong reinforcement under Col. G. induced the insurgents, already disheartened by repeated defeats, to retire with precipitation.

Exaggerated accounts of this revolt were sent to Bangalore, and troops were put in motion to aid in its suppression. The regiment of which I was in command, was ordered to advance on Canara by forced marches, but we had scarcely proceeded one hundred miles when we were countermanded, and directed to hasten to Mercara, the capital of the Coorg country, where alarming symptoms of

disaffection had also appeared. When within a stage of Mercara we were again countermanded, and ordered to resume our former route.

Our road lay through a very wild and difficult but highly picturesque country; we had to cross the Besly ghaut, by a steep pass, over which it was very fatiguing to drag the guns. No opposition was made to our descent, but when we arrived near the summit and began to go down on the other side, through very intricate paths, we found our progress impeded by several stockades, erected across the defiles through which our road lay. None of these were defended, though all contained traces of having been recently occupied, and we reached the village of Besly without interruption. Most of the inhabitants had fled, and the few stragglers we found lurking in the jungles, either could not or would not afford us any information. On the following morning Col. W. directed me to advance with a detachment of one hundred and twenty men, and reconnoitre a very rugged mountain pass, extending about seven miles in a rocky precipitous descent. We had proceeded about two-thirds of the way, when at a sharp turn of the road we came in sight of a very strong stockade, over which was a high hill very densely wooded, and chequered with rocky crags. From this post, a smart fire was opened on us, and one of my party was wounded. We returned the fire with more effect, wounding their chief and killing several of his followers; this so disheartened the rest, that when, after having received a reinforcement, we advanced to the works, they fled precipitately, leaving their dinner half-cooked behind them.

We bivouacked at the base of the ghaut, and having been joined on the following morning by Col. W., we marched to the village of Coolgund, where we found the few inhabitants

who remained peaceably disposed, and ready to assist us in arresting the ringleaders of the revolt. The aspect of the country was a confused jumble of rocks and hills, in the midst of wood and jungle, through which it would be scarcely possible to find a way without the assistance of native guides. The villagers directed parties of our sepoys to the haunts of the insurgents; several prisoners were arrested, by their aid, amongst others, Bungar, one of the principals in the revolt at Bellary Pett. They also brought in one hundred and fifty stand of arms, most of them matchlocks of the rudest and most inferior description, and a quantity of coarse ammunition. So little were the Canarese fitted for the contest they had provoked, that their balls were only pieces of lead, and were not unfrequently found in the centre of the cartridge.

Our second march was to Cuddah, where, much to our annoyance, we found that the rebels, anticipating our arrival, had fired the public bungalow erected for the accommodation of travellers. The flames were still smouldering in the large timbers of the roof when we came up, but they had made too much havock to render the labour of extinguishing them available for any useful purpose. We were forced to breakfast in our tents, which afforded but a feeble protection against the intense heat of a burning sun. Just as we had finished breakfast and divested ourselves of a portion of our military attire, a villager from a neighbouring hamlet came in, and offered to guide us to the enemy's bivouac, which he said was in a jungle about six miles off, on the banks of a river. Though fatigued by the recent march, strength and spirits were restored to all by the prospect of a skirmish; we were soon ready to advance in light marching order; our only difficulty was to select guards for our camp, all were so eager to bear a part in the expected fray, that no one, if he could

help it, would stay behind. Elephants, camels, and other beasts, were put in requisition to transport our guns and ammunition, and doolies were provided for the wounded in the hurry of preparation, black and white troops, horse and foot, were jumbled together in extraordinary confusion, until the signal was given to form the lines in strict silence.

No cymbal clash'd, no clarion rang,
Still were the fife and drum,
Save heavy tread and weapon clang,
Our onward march was dumb.

Short as the distance was, several of our men fainted from the scorching heat of the day, and our medical men were obliged to use the lancet very freely. All were rejoiced when we were permitted to halt, and refresh ourselves with some water, found in the holes and shady portions of an almost dry nullah. The column of attack was formed, our commander drew his sword and waved it on high, encouraging his men by word and gesture; the rest of the officers, especially those who had maiden blades, followed his example, and we emerged from our cover ready to sweep our foes from the earth. We descended a gentle declivity to the banks of a river, on the opposite side of which the enemies were supposed to be posted. When we came near the river, our advanced guard perceiving some peasants scampering away, mistook them for the scouts of the enemy, and most injudiciously opened a straggling fire. The example was infectious,-in spite of all remonstrances the column in the rear began to fire over the heads of the advance, to the great alarm of some troops of monkeys, but to the injury only of a poor innocent brahmin who was weeding in his garden. Into the river we all dashed, horse and foot, fording, floundering,

and struggling through, to gain some pagodas at the opposite side, which were supposed to be occupied by the enemy. At length we crossed over, but not a soul was to be seen. The cavalry scoured the jungles in every direction; detached parties searched every probable and improbable place where the rebels could lurk, but not one could be found. Our heroes were obliged to return their unfleshed blades to the scabbards, and from the liberal display made of them, this vexatious, but very ludicrous affair was called "The Battle of the Swords."

The poor brahmin who had been wounded received every attention and aid that our medical skill could afford, but all was vain, the injuries he had received were too severe to admit of a cure. As some atonement, a handsome subscription was raised for his family, and this intelligence cheered his last moments. Never shall I forget the countenance of the dying man as he lay, supported by his wife and his two sons (quite boys), awaiting the approach of death with a patience and resignation, such as I never before witnessed. Though suffering acute torture, and though his fate was wholly unmerited, he never uttered a word of complaint. When told of the provision that had been made for his family,

A light o'er his wan visage spread,
And fired his glaring eye;

the gleam of satisfaction on his bronzed countenance was exquisitely beautiful, and his look more expressive of gratitude than the words which he was too feeble to utter could have been. His wife and children, though overwhelmed with sorrow, ex-pressed their thanks for our bounty with a noble simplicity, and fully recognised our zeal to atone for an injury which they acknowledged to be involuntary.

We continued our march to Canara, receiving everywhere proofs that the insurrection was at an end. The unfortunate chief whom the insurgents had proclaimed rajah against his will, made little or no effort to maintain his ground. He dismissed his followers, recommending each to shift for his own safety, and became

"A hunted wanderer on the wilds."

After many narrow escapes, he was taken in Coorg, and sent to Mangalore for trial. His execution was perhaps a measure of necessary severity, but even his judges pitied his unhappy fate. The few of his adherents whom we chased, were fugitives from Bapoo; the dewan of Coorg, who had stormed the Canarese camp, recovered the treasure, and liberated Mr. and Mrs. P., who had been arrested by the rebels while passing through the country. They had been very civilly treated by the unfortunate rajah, who appears through the whole business to have been "more sinned against than sinning."

After a delay of about three weeks in Canara, having nothing further to do, we commenced our retrograde march. The change from an intensely hot to a comparatively mild temperature, as we ascended the Besly ghauts, was most refreshing. We encamped at Igoor, in the midst of the most beautiful scenery that can be conceived. The landscape included a succession of verdant downs, studded with clumps of evergreens and forest trees, intersected with rich valleys of rice fields, watered

by rivers and meandering streamlets, along whose banks grew an abundant variety of flowering shrubs. In the background was the chain of the western ghauts, with their peaks of diversified form, which open such abundant fields of speculation for the geologist. During the day, the notes of

the blackbird revived the recollections of Europe and of home, which are so frequently revived in the mountains of Hindústan. Houses and people were alone wanting to the picture, which picture may be taken as a general specimen of the scenery along the western frontier of Mysore.

The insurrection of the rajah of Goomsur, in the northern circars, entailed much greater loss on our forces than the revolt in Canara, owing to the extraordinary difficulty of the country, and the fidelity with which the people adhered to their chiefs.

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The Naval Connection

Author's Note

In the book, *Blueprint To Bluewater - THE INDIAN NAVY 1951 – 65* by Rear Admiral Satyindra Singh AVSM, (Retd.), the author writes on the major changes that the Easy India Co.'s Navy went through in the year 1830. One was the service renamed as Indian Navy and the other that the first ship that sailed in service of the same was the Hugh Lindsay steamship. It had covered Bombay to Suez in 21 days back then! Incidentally in April 1837, when the Amara Sulya movement took place, the same steamship saw action. It had been dipatched from Bombay along wth a squadron. More on which has been extensively documented by Lieut. Charles Rathbone Low (1837 -1918) in his book. The author of *History of the Indian Navy (1613-1863), Vol. II* published in 1877, the volumes extensively encompass nautical expeditions and naval history beyond British waters. Vol. II published by Richard Bentley and Son, London, has the following information with respect to the military campaign

of the British East India Co. against the Amara Sulya Movement's success at the port town of Mangalore.

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"In 1836 the Atalanta steam sloop of 617 tons and 210 horsepower, armed with four heavy guns, was launched at London, and sailed from Falmouth on the 29th of December, for Bombay. The Atalanta made Teneriffe in eight days, having encountered terrific weather, daring which she carried away the paddle-boxes, and jib-boom, and arrived at the Cape in thirty-five days from England, and at Bombay on the 13th of April. having made the passage in one hundred and six days. Her arrival was most opportune, for the Government had just received intelligence of the outbreak of a formidable insurrection in the Canara country, and an attack on Mangalore by an insurgent force of five thousand Coorgs and Moplahs, who, however, were driven off. Immediately on receipt of this news at Bombay, Her Majesty's ship 'Winchester' proceeded to Vingorla and embarked two hundred of the Queen's Royals and four hundred of the Company's troops; ***the Hugh Lindsay took on board two hundred of the 6th Regiment, and a company of Artillery, with 9-pounders****; and the Atalanta' embarked the 23rd Native Infantry. The two former left Bombay on the 13th of April and reached Mangalore in fifty-seven hours, and the Atalanta followed on the following day and anchored in the roads in fifty hours. On their arrival it was found that the place had been relieved by troops from Cannanore, but a large field force was required for ulterior operations, and a squadron of vessels of the Indian Navy was employed on the coast, Commander Lowe being agent for transports, with Lieutenant Robinson as his assistant."*

The 'Berenice,' 'Atalanta,' and 'Hugh Lindsay,' were employed during the year 1837 in the transport of mails and passengers between Suez and Bombay, from which date the communication was regularly maintained.

*

WM. H. ALLEN AND CO., (1837). The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China, and Australia - Volume 23

"When the news of Mangalore being attacked reached Bombay (15th April), Sir John Keane directed 200 of H. M. 6th regt., a company of artillery with nine pounders, should embark on board the Hugh Lindsay. H.M.S. Winchester proceeded to Vingorla, and embarked 200 of the Queen's Royal and 400 of the Company's troops. The Atalanta war-steamer arriving most opportunely, the 23d regt. Bombay N. I. was embarked on board of her; the whole three to Mangalore. They arrived at their destination in two days. A force of 5000 men, under Col. Green, was in pursuit of the enemy.– Idem."

*

The Royal Navy List; Witherby & Co., London - 1884

"196. MOORE, R. S., served as Mate of the "Winchester" on the East India Station, and Mate of the barge hading troops, through a heavy surf, to suppress an insurrection in the province of Canara, East Indies, 1837".

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CHAPTER - 3
COURT-MARTIAL

A.J. ARBUTHNOT, M.C.S.,
HEAD ASSISTANT REGISTER OF THAT COURT. (1851)
Select Reports of Criminal Cases, Determined in
The Court of Foujdaree Udalut of Madras.

GOVERNMENT,

Versus

1. BIRANNA,
2. MUTTANNA GANDA,
3. SUBBA, *Peon*,
4. CUNHA,
5. KRISHNA,
6. DEVAPPA,
7. KARYANA SUBBA.

Charge—*Treason and Rebellion.*

* 18th *June*, 1837. The case of Biranna and others.

Adverting to a practice observed in the proceedings of the Special Commission, appointed for the trial of persons concerned in the Rebellion in Canara in 1837, of receiving detailed statements from the accused immediately after arraignment, the Court of Foujdaree Udalut observed, that whatever the prisoners might have to urge in their defence, should be received at the close of the evidence for the prosecution, and that in this, as in all other points, the forms of proceeding observed by the ordinary tribunals of Criminal Judicature should be strictly adhered to by the Courts convened under the provisions of Regulation XX. of 1802.

The prisoners were tried before a Special Court holden at Mangalore on the 10th May 1837 upon an indictment charging them with Treason and Rebellion, "in that they, being sub-"jects of the British Government, did on the "30th March 1837 withdraw their allegiance "therefrom, and oppose the authority thereof, "and in company with others, armed with mus-"kets, matchlocks, knives, and other weapons "did attack the Talook Cutcherry at Bella-"rypett in the province of Canara, seize and "make prisoners of the Head Serishtadar De-"vappa, the Tahsildar Govindaya, and other "public servants, take possession of public cash "amounting to Rupees 13,000 and upwards, and "aid and abet in declaring and attempting the "subversion of the Government of the Honor-"able East India Company."

Additional counts were preferred against the 1st and 2nd prisoners, charging them respectively, the 1st with having on the 17th April 1837 appeared at Madoor as a chief of rebels in open resistance to the Government, and the 2nd with having on the 2nd April 1837, as a chief of a large body of armed rebels, taken possession of the public buildings and public property at Caasargodi, and made prisoners of the Government servants at that place.

16th June, 1837.
The case of Hirasan and others.

All the prisoners were fully convicted of the offences laid to their charge, and the trial was referred by the Special Commissioners (J. Vaughan and T. L. Strange,) with a recommendation that the 1st and 2nd prisoners, who were proved to have taken a very prominent part in the rebellion, and the 3rd prisoner, a Government Peon, should be severally sentenced to suffer death, and a sentence of five years' imprisonment with hard labor in irons should be passed upon each of the remaining prisoners, who appeared to have committed the offences charged against them in blind obedience to the orders of their Potails.

The Court of Foujdaree Udalut (present J. Bird and A. D. Campbell) concurred with the Special Commissioners in the conviction of all the prisoners charged and sentenced the 1st and 2nd prisoners to be hanged, the 3rd prisoner to be transported for life, and the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th prisoners respectively to five years' imprisonment with hard labor in irons, as recommended by the Special Commissioners.

Adverting to a practice observed in the proceedings of the Special Commissioners in this and other trials, which had come before the Court of Foujdaree Udalut, of receiving detailed statements from the prisoners immediately after arraignment, the Court of Foujdaree Udalut, in communicating their sentence, recorded the following remarks.

"The Court of Foujdaree Udalut considering the practice con-
"tinued by the Special Commission of receiving detailed state-
"ments from the accused immediately after the arraignment, to
"be objectionable, as well as irregular, resolve to direct that it
"be discontinued.

"Whatever the prisoners may have to urge in their defence,
"&c., should be received at the close of the evidence for the pro-
"secution: and in this, as in all other points, the forms of pro-
"ceeding observed by the ordinary tribunals of Criminal Judi-
"cature should be strictly adhered to by the Courts convened
"under the provisions of Regulation XX. of 1802."

Treason.

Adverting to a practice observed in the proceedings of the Special Commission appointed for the trial of persons concerned in the Rebellion in Canara in 1837, of receiving detailed statements from the accused immediately after arraignment, the Court of Foujdaree Udalut observed that whatever the prisoners might have to urge in their defence should be received at the close of the evidence for the prosecution, and that in this, as in all other points, the forms of proceeding observed by the ordinary tribunals of Criminal Judicature should be strictly adhered to by the Courts convened under the provisions of Regulation XX. of 1802.—Biranna and others, case of 124

Parbury's Oriental Herald and Colonial Intelligencer, Volume 1; The East India Voyager by Miss Emma Roberts; 1838

INSURRECTION AT CANARA - commission, composed of Major-General Vigoureux, C. B., and C.R. Cotton, Esq., of the Revenue Board, was appointed to enquire into the causes and origin of the late insurrection.

Major-General Vigoureux, commanding Mysore div., and C. R. Cotton, Esq., third member of Board of Revenue, to be Joint Commissioner for the purpose of enquiring into the causes, &c. of the late insurrection in Canara.

INSURRECTION IN CANARA - The Fort St. George Gazette of 21st October announces the appointment of Major-General Fearon, C. B., as a Commissioner for investigating the causes of the late insurrection in Canara, v. Major-General Vigoureux, C. B., relieved on the return of his regiment to Europe.

Dec. 1st.- Major-Gen. Fearon, C. B., relinquishes the appointment of Commissioner for investigating causes of Canara Insurrection, in consequence of ill health.

Report on the medical topography and statistics, of the provinces of Malabar and Canara; Published by order of Government; R.W. Thorpe; Vepery Mission Press - 1844.

Author's Note

From this book, we come to know that a census was taken in the year 1836. As per the census data, the population of Mangalore city then stood at 11,548. Additionally the weather is also recorded at 19 to 31!. The weather is mentioned to be fine to the natives as well as the sepoys coming from above the ghat region (the geographical boundary of the west coast, Tulunadu as it has been known since time immemorial) but 'not so well adapted' for the Europeans. The book also mentions an outbreak of a disease which affected many who were imprisoned for participating in the Amara Sulya Freedom Movement.

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The cause of this excessive sickness and mortality in the jail, in the years 1837 and 1838, is explained in the following extract from the report of Superintending surgeon Sladen, dated 31st December 1837. "Immediately after the insurrection in Canara, (beginning of 1837,) numerous prisoners from all parts of the district were sent to the jail, to await their trial before the commission; many of these being of the higher classes of natives, who had been accustomed to indulge in the luxuries of wealth and power, were consequently less able to bear up against so sudden a change of diet, and of all their habits, in their passive confinement; their minds gave way, and although every attention consistent with their safety and situation, was shewn to them, yet many were in such a state of despondency, that they sunk upon the first appearance of disease."

The same causes may be supposed to have operated more powerfully in the following year 1838, amongst those of the insurgents still remaining in jail; and the very great mortality amongst the convicts in that year,

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Author's Note

The British East India Company justified the use of a military court in these proceedings.

*

Letters to and from the Government of Madras, relative to the disturbances in Canara in April, 1837; F.C. Brown, Esq. Smith, Elder and Co., London - 1838

(22) ..in the deliberate judgment of the Governor in Council of Madras, was deemed and declared to be treason and rebellion within the Regulation, and to be deserving, in the persons above described, seized, and convicted before the Court Martial, ***"of the immediate punishment of death, by being hanged by the neck till dead," and of the forfeiture" to the British Government of all property and effects, real and personal :+"***

† A. D. 1808. REGULATION VII.

I. Whereas during wars in which the British Government has been engaged against certain of the native Powers of India, certain persons owing allegiance to the British Government have borne arms in open hostility to the authority of the same, and have abetted and aided the enemy, and have committed acts of violence and outrage against the lives and properties of the subjects of the said Government; and whereas it may be expedient that, during the existence of any war in which the British Government

in India may be engaged with any power whatever, as well as during the existence of open rebellion against the authority of the Government, in any part of the British territories subject to the Government of the Presidency of Fort St. George, the Governor in Council shall declare and establish Martial Law, within any part of the territories aforesaid, for the safety of the British possessions, and for the security of the lives and property of the inhabitants thereof; by the immediate punishment of persons owing allegiance to the British Government, who may be taken in arms, in open hostility to the said Government, or in the actual commission of any overt act of rebellion against the authority of the same, or in the act of openly aiding and abetting the enemies of the British Government, within any part of the territories above specified; the following regulation has been enacted by the Governor in Council to be in force throughout the British territories, immediately subject to the Government of the Presidency of Fort St. George, from the 1st day of October, 1808.

II. The Governor in Council is hereby declared to be empowered to establish Martial Law, within the territories subject to the Government of the Presidency of Fort St. George, for any period of time, while the British Government in India shall be engaged in war with any native or other power, as well as during the existence of open rebellion against the authority of the Government in any part of the territories aforesaid, and also to direct the immediate trial, by Courts Martial, of all persons, owing allegiance to the British Government, either in consequence of their having been born, of their having served under it in any capacity, or of their being resident within its territories, and under its protection, who shall be taken in

arms in open hostility to the British Government, or in the act of opposing, by force of arms, the authority of the same, or in the actual commission of any overt act of rebellion against the State, or in the act of conspiring with, or of openly aiding and abetting, the enemies of the British Government, within any part of the said territories.

III. It is hereby further declared that any person born, or residing under the protection of the British Government, within the territories aforesaid, and consequently owing allegiance to the said Government, who, in violation of the obligation of such allegiance, shall be guilty of any of the crimes specified in the preceding section, and who shall be convicted thereof by the sentence of a Court Martial, during the establishment of Martial Law, shall be liable to immediate punishment of death; and shall suffer the same accordingly, by being hanged by the neck until he is dead. All persons who shall, in such cases, be adjudged by a Court Martial to be guilty of any of the crimes specified in this regulation, shall also forfeit to the British Government all property and effects, real and personal, which they shall have possessed within its territories, at the time when the crime of which they may be convicted shall have been committed.

IV. *The Governor in Council shall not be precluded by this regulation from causing persons charged with any of the offences described in the present regulation to be brought to trial, at any time, before the ordinary Courts of Judicature, or before any special Court appointed for the trial of such offences, under Regulation XX, 1802, instead of causing such persons to be tried by Courts Martial, in any cases wherein the latter mode of trial shall not appear to be indispensably necessary.*

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CHAPTER - 4
ASIATIC JOURNAL 1837

WM. H. ALLEN AND CO., (1837).
The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China, and Australia - Volume 23

INSURRECTION IN CANARA.

"The distressing intelligence of a formidable insurrection in the province of Canara reached government by express on the 9th April. The particulars, so far as we have been able to collect them, are these :- It seems that the government had for some days been informed that the district was in a disturbed state ; that the dawk runners had been murdered, the cummunication cut off, and that the collector had gone into the interior of the province for the purpose of quelling the disturbances, which, it was known, were led by a discontented chief from the Coorg country. On the 13th March, the town

of Mangalore, to which it appears the collector had returned, driven back, we believe, by the insurgents, was invested by an irregular force of 5000 armed men, principally Moplas, of the country of Canara, there being at the time no larger force in the town than 250 Sepoys, the head-quarters of the 2d regt. N.I. The approach of this large force was hardly known (for they seem to have planned their attack with secresy) before the troops were driven out of their lines, which were set fire to by the insurgents.

A vessel (the barque Éamont, from Bombay) happened providentially to be passing the port, and signals of distress being hoisted on the flag-staff, she stood into the roads. Mr. Bird, the judge, and Mr. Dumergue, we believe, the only two European gentlemen having families in the place. Immediately proceeded on board, left their wives and children, and afterwards returned with the captain of the ship to the shore. On their return, they found the troops drawn up on the beach, and Mr. Lewin, the collector, and Mr. Reade, Mr. Malthy, and Mr. Chatfield with them, awaiting the final attack of the rebels, who had already invested the town in every direction, in such a manner as apparently to render escape utterly hopeless. With this conviction, Messrs. Bird and Dumergue returned with the commander of the Amount to the vessel; the latter having promised reinforcement of two six-pounders and a few muskets to the small but gallant band thus left to withstand alone the attack of the formidable enemy.

The boat which took the commander off, in going out of the mouth of the river, had to pass under the fire of a body of matchlock men; but, happily, their shots did not take effect.

Almost immediately after the party reached the vessel, it seems that one simultaneous attack was made on all quarters of the town, which was on fire from one end to the other in an instant. To complete the horror of the scene, the powder-magazine blew up at the same moment. The Eamont, with her party on board, immediately made sail for Cannanore, with the object of obtaining that succour which it was impossible for the commander or his passengers personally to render, and thus the fate of the unfortunate party who were left on shore remained unknown.

We are happy to learn that by expresses received from Col. Cubbon and Capt. Le Hardy, it is stated that not a sign of disturbance or disaffection has shown itself in Mysore or Coorg, and that these authorities have every confidence in the devotion of all the people above the Ghants. We believe we have thus stated fully the facts of this most distressing occurrence, and we must reserve to another time the reflections which suggest themselves in regard to the contracted policy which has given force to, if it has not created, this sad catastrophe. Much will suggest itself to the government naturally, and the warning it affords will no doubt be lastingly useful to them. -Conservative, 11th April.

[Further Particulars.]–We are most happy to state, on brief but authentic information, that according to the latest accounts received from Mangalore, Major Dowker, 2d B. N. I. had succeeded in repelling the attack made upon him with trifling loss, Our informant states that, on the 5th April, at ten o'clock A.M., Mangalore was attacked by two large bodies of Coorgs from the north, east, and south. The small number of men at his disposal prevented Major Dowker from

doing otherwise than acting on the defensive, and he was unable to prevent the prisoners in the town being liberated, and many of the houses from being burnt. A party was in the first instance sent to repel the Coorgs lining the North Parade-road, and succeeded in driving them back. The attack made shortly afterwards from the southward was likewise repulsed, and the Coorgs pursued them to their boats, where a considerable number were killed, wounded, drowned, and taken prisoners: amongst whom was one of their leaders, who, we believe, is since dead. By the loss thus inflicted on the enemy, they were completely driven back for the time; but the Moplas and other disaffected persons in the town took every occasion to plunder and maltreat the sepoys. The reinforcement from Cannanore was anxiously expected. The loss in killed and missing was thirty-three, and nine wounded. The treasure had been saved. No mention is made of the civilians, but of course they are safe.—1bid, April 12.

[Latest Particulars.]— The attack upon Major Dowker's brave little band (noticed in our last) took place on the 7th April. No detailed report of the affair has yet been received, but the gallantry with which the attack was repelled appeared to have had the effect of intimidating the insurgents, and discouraging further attempts. Up to the 11th, the date of the last accounts, no fresh assault had been made. On the night of the 11th, Col. Green's detachment was expected to arrive from Cannanore, and from that time and from that time, of course, all apprehensions for the fate of the gallant party would cease. Major Dowker's report (of which we gave the substance in a short extract) was so exceedingly modest that much detail is not to be gathered from it, but it is clear

that every individual employed, European and native, not omitting the brave officer (Lieut. Cotton) who volunteered his services, must have done his duty nobly, and we cannot doubt that the rewards and commendation they so truly deserve, will be poured by the King's and the local governmen upon these gallant soldiers, who in a situation of extreme peril and trial have thus triumphantly supported the character of the British arms. All anxiety for the town of Mangalore itself being thus set at rest, a far more important apprehension arises respecting the general state of the district and its neighbourhood: disturbed we fear it is from beginning to end. The Coorgs have been represented to be staunch, ***but it is difficult to think of all that has recently occurred in that part of the country, and of the sparks which usually linger after the extinction of flames such as have lately been extinguished there, and at the same time banish all apprehension of the effects of a neighbouring insurrection upon matter so inflammable.*** *The confidence entertained in Mysore is not nearly so strong as in Coorg, and it is a remarkable fact, conveying to our minds no pleasant impression, that the active and vigilant officers superintending divisions in Mysore have been able to gather little or no information from the people of their district. We sincerely trust that the relief which, through the noble conduct of Major Dowker and his brave men, their first apprehensions have experienced, will not lead the government into any false security upon the general question ; but that the active course which on the first blush of the affair suggested itself to them, may be followed up without delay or a day's relaxed exertion.*

It is known that the enemy is strongly stockaded at the Bissley Ghaut. Col. Williamson's force was to march against them from the French Rocks on the 9th April, and by this time he m y have probably dislodged them. Capt. Le Hardy marched out at the head of 700 Coorgs, accompanied by Col. Isaacke and the 36th regt., to reconnoitre the Bissley, but finding the enemy's position too strong, they were obliged to return to Mercara. It is perhaps to be regretted that this movement was made at all. The force under Col. Williamson is as follows, viz.: half a troop of horse artillery; squadron of the 6th light cavalry; a brigade of six-pounders, and a brigade of howitzers-200 men of H. M. 39th regt., and the 19th and 27th regts. N.I. The want of Europeans we think must be apparent, and we trust they will be supplied. - 1bid, April 18th".

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CHAPTER - 5
COL FRASER

Memoir and Correspondence of General James Stuart Fraser of The Madras Army. *Colonel Hastings Fraser, Madras Staff Corps (1885).*

Author's note

Inducted into the Military as an Acting Secretary in February 1834, Col. Fraser was largely responsible for the annexation of Kodagu (Coorg) under the fold of the British East India Co. On 03 March 1837, he was promoted as the Political Agent of the then Governer-General of India, Lord William Bentinck. The following are proclamations that were issued when the British East India Co. was at the cusp of annexing the Haleri Dynasty's Kingdom of Kodagu under its fold. While one of the proclamations was issued by Mr Fraser himself, the other a counter proclamation to that of Fraser's was issued by a Minister of the last Rajah of Kodagu, Chikka Vira

Rajah. It gives sufficient reason on the background of administrative changes on Kodagu and its surrounding.

*

"PROCLAMATION

"The conduct of the Rajah of Coorg has for a long time past been of such a nature as to render him unworthy of the friendship and protection of the British Government.

"Unmindful of his duty as a ruler, and regardless of his obligations as a dependent Ally of the East India Company, he has been guilty of the greatest oppression and cruelty towards the people subject to his Government, and he has evinced the most wanton disrespect, and the most hostile disposition, towards the great Power from whom he and his ancestors have invariably received every degree of kindness and protection.

"It would be needless to enumerate the several instances of his misconduct, but it is sufficient to state that, in consequence of an asylum having been afforded in the British Territories to his own sister Devammaji and her husband, Channa Basavappa, who to preserve their lives had fled from his oppression, the Rajah has presumed to address letters replete with the most insulting expressions to the Governor of Fort St. George and the Governor-General of India; that he has assumed an attitude of hostility and defiance towards the British Government; that he has received and encouraged the proclaimed enemies of that Government; and that be has unjustifiably placed under restraint an old and faithful servant of the Company, named Kulputty Karnikàra Manoon, who had been formerly deputed by the British representative for the purpose of opening a friendly negotiation, thus committing a gross out rage, not only upon the authority by

whom the above-named individual was deputed, but upon the established rules of all civilised nations, by whom the persons of accredited Agents are invariably held sacred. "The ancient alliance and the firm friendship, which had so happily subsisted between the predecessors of the present Rajah and the Honourable Company, have caused his errors to be treated uniformly with indulgence. The most earnest remonstrances have been in vain tried, to bring him to a sense of his obligations, and it is not until further forbearance would be culpable, that his Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor-General, at the suggestion and with the concurrence of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, has resolved on employing the only means left of vindicating the dignity of the sovereign State and of securing to the inhabitants of Coorg the blessings of a just and equitable Government.

"It is, accordingly, hereby notified, that a British army is about to invade the Coorg territory; that Virarajendra Wodear is no longer to be considered as Rajah of Coorg; that the persons and property of all those who conduct themselves peaceably or in aid of the operations of the British troops, shall be respected, and that such a system of Government shall be established as may seem best calculated to secure the happiness of the people.

"It is also hereby made known to all British subjects who may have entered the service of Virarajendra Wodear, that they are required to place themselves under the protection of the British authorities, by whom they will be kindly received, and their rights and privileges respected, and that such of them as may in any way render assistance to the enemy will be considered as traitors and punished accordingly.

"This proclamation will be carefully made known in Chittledroog, Raidroog. Mysore, Bellary, Malabar, Canara, in order that the relatives of such persons as have taken service in Coorg from those places or adjoining districts, may adopt the earliest means of communicating its purport to the parties in whose safety they are interested.

"**J. S. FRASER**,
"Lient.-Col. and Political Agent of H. E. the Right Hon. the Governor-General.

"Issued at Bangalore this 15th day of March 1834."

*

The counter-proclamation by the Rajah of Coorg's Minister

"PROCLAMATION TO THE BRAVE PEOPLE OF COORG.

The explanation of the Proclamation, issued through the ignorance of the bad English people, who are mean slaves and servants of the auspicious feet of the Halery Samsthan Maharaja.

"In answer to a proclamation of the bad Englishman, son of a slave girl, who in a state of forgetting Mahadeva (God) and through pride had written on a paper whatever occurred to his mind, for the purpose of giving information to the inhabitants of Halery Samstan, and fastened the same near the boundary, I, the slave of my Master's Majesty, let you know as follows, that the proclamation (containing the evil subjects) which was fastened in the boundary by the wicked Englishman, the son of a slave, is not at all possible even with our eyes or heard with our ears, and in the very time of tying the said proclamations, which are replete with indecent subjects, the

hearts of all of us, who are the servants of the king's feet, were inflamed as the fire through wind. The wicked Christian European, the son of a slave, who resolved to prepare this, should be beheaded, and his head thrown out; the hands, mouth, and head of the person who wrote this should be cut off, and the generation of the low caste blasphemer and bad European should be burnt down. These hopes are to be soon fulfilled. All the above subjects are certain. All the wicked Europeans, all the sons of slave girls, have evil intentions that shall come to naught. Very well, very well, my children, we will fill up all your bellies according to your wishes. Be this known to you all, written on Sunday, 6th of the waning moon of the month of Phalguna."

*

Author's Note

The following appears as a note in the book, ***Memoir and Correspondence of General James Stuart Fraser of The Madras Army.*** Also attested is the copy of the letter addressed to Sir Frederick Adam, the then Governor of Madras, briefing him on the unfolding of the movement on April 1837. The worst fear of the British East India Co. is revealed in this correspondence.

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"In December 1836, an insurrection broke out in the province of Canara, on the western coast of the Madras Presidency. The insurgents chiefly congregated in that part of Canara that bordered on the hilly country of Coorg, and included two small districts that originally belonged to the little Raj, but had been detached at the time of its conquest, contrary to General Fraser's advice, because it was considered they more naturally formed part of Canara, and

could more easily be administered by the Collector of that district. *The insurgents had calculated on the co-operation of the recently annexed people of Coorg, but they were very much out in their calculations. The brave Coorgas were so well satisfied with the rule of Captain Le Hardy, the Superintendent whom Colonel Fraser had placed over them, that they rallied round him in response to his call, armed with bows and arrows and battle-axes, and gave most valuable assistance in putting down the insurrection. It is to this incident that Colonel Fraser alludes in the following letter from the Travancore Residency to Sir Frederick Adam, who had just returned to England at the end of his term as Governor of Madras"*

"Trevandrum, 17th June 1837.

"Mr DEAR SIR FREDERICK, - You will probably have learned before this letter reaches you that, about the time you got half-way home, this most combustible of all countries exhibited an explosion on the Western coast, which, though not in the slightest degree foreseen at the time you left Madras, rapidly rose to an extent which threatened to throw the whole of this part of India into a flame. The particulars of the progress of the insurrection, and the pouring in of troops from all quarters, especially from Bombay by sea, will be seen in the public papers: *therefore I need not recapitulate them here. Bat as I wish you to know exactly what the conduct of my old friends the Coorgs has been, I do myself the pleasure to transmit for your information the accompanying letters and copies of dispatches on the subject which I have received at different times from Le Hardy.*

"The Coorgs, in fact, put down the rebellion; and if they had not proved staunch to the British interest, and firm in their personal attachment to Le Hardy, ***I have not the slightest doubt that we should have got into a disagreeable kind of war of quite indefinite duration.*** *I hope you will be pleased with the conduct of these brave fellows. I confess it is a source of satisfaction with me to have been one of the first among us to become acquainted with them. Le Hardy has deserved well of the Government, and I trust that his conduct, which has been marked by judgment and conciliation, and the talent of pro serving the affection of the brave people over whom he is placed, will be duly appreciated and rewarded. The whole of the papers I now send form a private communication, for I have no right to regard it otherwise; but yet I think, if you deemed it proper to give the perusal of them to your own friends among the Directors, they would not be found altogether uninteresting, and I should certainly be happy that anything were done which would give a good opinion of so estimable a person as Le Hardy.*

The real and original case of the insurrection yet remains, I believe, shrouded in mystery. I think it not improbable that the discontent of the inhabitants of Ninar Soolia and Pootoor, the two districts we separated from Coorg for the purpose of annexing them to Canara, may be found to have been one of the principal and most influential motives with the insurgents. I could not refrain from expressing my apprehension to the inhabitants of those districts, at the time when a party among them petitioned Lord William Bentinck to allow of their being annexed to Canara, that they would regret the day when their request was complied with. And by this time, I fancy,

they are pretty well aware of the difference between our Collector and Court of Justice and the simple old-fashioned system of revenue and trial by Punchayat which we established in Coorg.

The rest of India seems pretty quiet at present, but how long it will remain so, it would be difficult for the wisest politician to pronounce. If ignorance is bliss, we have it here in perfection; for never in the world did human beings live in a more complete state of uncertainty in regard to future events than we do, because we are so ignorant as to the feelings and the projects of those around us.

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CHAPTER - 6
F.C. BROWN

Letters to and from the Government of Madras, relative to the disturbances in Canara in April, 1837; F.C. Brown, Esq. Smith, Elder and Co., London - 1838

Author's Note

From this source, initially it is learned that the port town of Mangaluru had been a Garrison of the then British East India Company. Approximately 3546 European soldiers and Sepoys under the command of Major Campbell had resisted the whole army of Tipu until 1799, which consisted of 60,000 horses, 30,000 sepoys, and 600 French Infantry under the command of Colonel Cossigny, Lally's corps of Europeans and Natives, a French troop of dismounted cavalry commanded by an officer of the King of France, irregular troops to the amount of many thousands, and nearly one hundred pieces of artillery, continuously for nine months.

*

On the Amara Sulya Incident -

Throughout the Bombay Presidency it was reported and believed, that "the Coorgs, Mapillas, and Nyrs of the Coast were all in a state of rebellion. ***All the different Brigades (of the Bombay army) received orders to hold themselves in readiness to march at an hour's notice." In Ceylon, the 90th Light Infantry (Queen's) were under orders for embarkation and field service on the Coast!***

The events I afterwards heard of were, the Proclamation of Martial Law in Canara, the assembling of a Court Martial at Mangalore, the centre of agitation and excitement, presided over by the Officer there commanding to try the Prisoners, and the abdication by His Lordship in Council, in their case, of his prerogative of life and death into the hands of the Officer commanding the Provinces.

On the 15th of April, the Bombay Troops reached Mangalore. The troops that had been poured in from Cannanore and Mysoor had, as was known, long preceded them. It was after this intelligence had been public several days, that a scene was acted at Tellicherry which shocked me past endurance.

On the 20th or 21st of April, I beg the date may be attended to, a gentleman drives down full tear three miles from his house to the beach, where a group of others, myself of the number, were assembled; throws himself from his Bandy, his horse a sheet of foam, bestows not a sign of recognition upon any one, seats himself on a stone, pulls a letter from his pocket, and reads aloud to all present, "that all Canara was in revolt, all Mysoor and all Coorg ready to rise, and that the most formidable and extensive insurrection India ever saw was on the eve of breaking

out." He had stopped on the road a gentleman driving a lady, and had at first read to them, that a most extensive massacre of Europeans had taken, or was to take place! I appeal to this gentleman, if he did not. The authority for this intelligence was declared to be undeniable; every word of it was credited, and then came reproaches and upbraidings of the Principal Collector for keeping so large a sum in his Tellicherry Treasury; of the temptation it held out to the Coorgs to come, and sack, and burn the European houses; of the case with which the exploit might be performed before any one was aware of it; of the risk it heedlessly exposed the Europeans to: and then came suggestions of the propriety and necessity of removing this treasure. Its removal into boats had, I hear, been mooted once before.

From this explanation I learned, that the first shock which the public confidence received, was the arrival at Tellicherry, in a Pattamar from Mangalore, of five ladies with their infants at the breast, without food, without water, some without a change of raiment, or a mattress to lie on. These ladies were five out of a number of eleven, who, with thirteen children, were put on board a Pattamar, in the river of Mangalore, on the 4th of April. A cry was raised, "the Coorgs are coming;" the cable was immediately cut, there was no crew on board, the boat drifted to near the river's mouth, there grounded, beat violently on the sands, and nearly filled with water; in which state, drenched to the skin, and expecting her every moment to sink, these ladies passed one whole night. On the following morning, they were descried and succoured. But the five in question and their children, without any other refreshment than a cup of tea, some in their drenched attire, were put on board another Pattamar and sent off to Telli cherry, there to appal every*

heart by the exhibition of their present sufferings, and the anticipation of their future woes.

**An open coasting vessel.*

And what recollections are there not associated with the theatre of this reported conduct! Mangalore, the grave of hundreds of a garrison of a few thousand (3546), Europeans and Sepoys, who, the historian relates, under their heroic leader Major Campbell, successfully resisted for nine consecutive months the whole army of the Sultan of Mysore, "amounting to 60,000 horse, 30,000 disciplined Sepoys, 600 French Infantry under Col. Cossigny, Lally's corps of Europeans and Natives, a French troop of dismounted cavalry commanded by an Officer of the King of France, irregular troops to the amount of many thousands, and nearly one hundred pieces of artillery." They resisted, until two-thirds of "the garrison were sick, and the rest had scarcely strength to sustain their arms," in which state "they marched to Tellicherry, with their arms, accoutrements, and all the honours of war."

But what was the meaning, which the First Judge fixed to these "looks" himself, and designed should be affixed to them by those to whom he addressed himself? His meaning, at the time and under the circumstances, could be no other, than that the inhabitants of Tellicherry were exulting in their hearts at the reported capture and burning of Mangalore by the Insurgents, at the defeat of the Sepoys, and the massacre of all the Europeans !

Then it also was that, of the European residents at Tellicherry, I was, I believe, the last to read, what had been in all other hands, the letter of the 15th of April, (a copy of which accompanied my letter of 31st of May,) from the Native

of Mangalore; giving to his family an account of the state of terror and anarchy into which that town was plunged from the 3d of April, and of the scenes he himself witnessed on the 4th and on the 5th, the day of the first attack. No sooner did I read this letter, than I urged its immediate dispatch to the Government, in order that the attention of the Government might be timely awakened to events, the real nature of which was no longer a doubt to the Natives of the two Provinces, nor to any of its own servants.

I, therefore, persisted in purchasing all the Pepper that was offered. In twenty-four days (from the 7th to the 30th of April), I paid away for Pepper, Rupees 16,986, in sums from one quarter of a Rupee, and half a Rupee, to 222 Rupees, the highest sum any seller received. Up to the 22nd of May, and not until then, was I satisfied that the minds of the people were tranquillized, and the late scenes, in a degree, obliterated, the sum paid away...

On the 10th, the day was not long enough to weigh, (Pepper is weighed by the single Maund,) receive, and pay for all the Pepper that came pouring in. Persons whom we had never seen nor heard of before, respectable Bramins and heads of families, from the extremity of the neighbouring districts, arrived in one universal panic, intreating for money. Although I refused not a grain of their Pepper, giving to the Hindoos, who are the bulk of the population, a Rupee more, I talked to, and endeavoured to reason with them, but in vain. It was in vain that I argued, that I remonstrated with them, that I told them truly all I knew of the occurrences in Canara, that I besought them not to be alarmed, but to take back their Pepper, and return quietly to their homes. Their fears made them deaf to every thing I could say. "We had no wish to sell our Pepper," they exclaimed, "we kept it for our

Niggdee (assessment); but the Saheb-mars (British functionaries) must know what has happened better than you that are here.

There they are, arrived from Mangalore in a ship and Pattamars, with their wives and children; the Saheb-mars at Tellicherry have detained the ship, and what can this be for, but to go away too, and leave us at the mercy of thieves and robbers? Better get what money we can, and fly too!" Whither, poor creatures, they knew not! Among this panic-stricken multitude were some of the Mapillas from Cottaparumba, four miles distant; some of those very Mapillas who, at the very time, were declared by name in one of the Madras papers, the Conservative, the reputed organ of the Government, to be all ripe for insurrection.

Pepper, and not money, is the medium of exchange best known to the people. It is their universal custom to hoard their Pepper and to part with it in small quantities, never at once, and that chiefly, when the tax-gatherer demands his money payments. It is hence a daily traffic throughout North Malabar. *Saving the few roads I have made, there are here none but mountain paths. Not a cart nor beast of burden is known off the few Government roads; all the inland traffic is by porters. A load of pepper is three maunds, or 102 lbs.: the two great marts for the commodity are the maritime Towns of Tellicherry and Cannanore.*

It was about the 1st or 2nd of April, that fugitives from South Canara brought to Tellicberry, where I then was, the first news of some disturbances existing in that proverbially tranquil and orderly country. As the rumours gained ground, on the 3rd of April, I examined, as I have before related, one of these fugitives, a Koombla Merchant who, with others,

had been sent for by the Insurgents to Bellarypet, and who gave me the first intimation of the seat of the disturbances being in Lower Coorg, and that the number of men of all arms he saw assembled was about 200.

The events I afterwards heard of were, the Proclamation of Martial Law in Canara, the assembling of a Court Martial at Mangalore, the centre of agitation and excitement, presided over by the Officer there commanding to try the Prisoners, and the abdication by His Lordship in Council, in their case, of his prerogative of life and death into the hands of the Officer commanding the Provinces.

38. On the 15th of April, the Bombay Troops reached Mangalore. The troops that had been poured in from Cannanore and Mysoor had, as was known, long preceded them. It was after this intelligence had been public several days, that a scene was acted at Tellicherry which shocked me past endurance.

The greater part of a Bombay regiment, amounting to about 400 men and Officers, with a Joint-Magistrate at their head, were sent to, and kept for many days, at Cassergode, a coast-town thirty-five miles south of Mangalore, with orders not to act but in repelling an attack: and this at a time when a traveller passing through that part of the country wrote "All is as quiet as if the street were covered with straw!" *Several Rajahs, living a few miles distant, wrote to Mangalore, complaining of being deserted, and stating that not one of the ordinary public Officers had been near them since the first outbreak.*

It also came out that he had refused to suffer Mrs. Palmer's Palankeen-bearers to leave her and her child, saying, they were that lady's servants, and must remain as

long as she wanted them. Inquiry would have shown, that if the first rising had taken place, as contemplated, this ***Kallianappa*** *would never have been heard of.* ***He was condemned by the Court Martial, and, without reference to Madras, executed.***

This confession was fully corroborated in every main particular by other unexceptionable testimony. In truth, every circumstance that was disclosed, every inquiry that was made, only added strength to the universal conviction, that "the rebels," from the first, were despicable in the extreme, as to means, numbers, and resources. In their desire for succour they wrote to the French Chief of Mahé entreating that he would join them with his forces, consisting of six unarmed Peons!

The Native, in his letter, says that the war-cry at Mangalore, throughout the days previous to the attacks, was, "The Devil Appa rampara is coming;" and that this fearful sound it was which led to the general panic and flight. Throughout Malabar all the authorities, European and Native, and all the heads of villages, myself among the number, received copies of Proclamations, offering 10,000 Rupees re ward (equal there to 10,000/. sterling in England), for the apprehension of the principal rebel-leader, "named Apparampara;" and 5,000 Rupees (equal to 5,000/. sterling), for the second leader, "named Kallianappa."

The native letter-writer describes the greater part of "the rebels" he saw at Mangalore, some of whom he conversed with, to have been "mere Ryots, inoffensive villagers, whom nothing but the fear of death for themselves and families led to join the insurrection." This is his description of them. The following is the description of an English eye and ear

witness:-"Some of them say they did go, because their Potails ordered them; and they really look spooney enough to obey such an order without thinking of consequences."

July, 1837, under the sign and seal of the Court of Foujdaree Udalut,-the highest Court of criminal, civil, and magisterial justice, the Court uniting and exercising the powers of the Court of Queen's Bench and the Court of Chancery combined, over all the Courts, and throughout all the territories of Madras;-that the Governor in Council, after having proclaimed Martial law for weeks and months before in Canara, after having assembled a Court Martial then sitting at Mangalore, and trying prisoners for treason and rebellion, and having devolved into other hands the power of confirming and carrying into immediate execution, the sentences of death and of forfeiture of all property, passed on the Natives convicted; after having dispatched to Mangalore another Special Court, and after having been apprised, since April, of the great and unresisting slaughter which had been made of the rioters, wherever the troops had encountered them; without stopping, I say, to rivet your attention to this one proof derived from the highest Court, that it was in the very end of June, after all these severe and sanguinary measures had been enforced, when the Governor in Council, for the first time, called upon the Magistrate under whose authority all the prisoners were confined, for information relative to their number, their crimes, and the evidence against them;

the Governor in Council, thus situated, and before whom by an act of his own Council, the ink of which was hardly dry, a Native in the Provinces was virtually and actually prohibited (as shall presently be shown) from appearing complaint, even if despair for the life of an innocent,

imprisoned father, brother, or son,-nay, if the innocent lives of all three such victims united, had hurried off to Madras a Native of Canara, braving the dangers and fatigues of a five-and-twenty days foot-journey, in the hope of staying the sword of the executioner, kept ready-drawn over lives so dear to him; the Governor in Council, thus situated, without the presence of a Native in his Council, without, it must be thought, one Native near, whose mute presence should remind him of the existence of such beings as Natives, and that it was the lives, then at stake, of hundreds of them, crowding and dying in a jail,—some proved to be innocent even of a suspicion of crime; others, without friends or means to bring the hardship of their cases to light, other than the interference of the Circuit Judge who, after a lapse of many weeks, sought no more than a bare discrimi nation of the mass of innocent from the guilty-of those without crime or accusers, from those criminated in, or even suspected of, mob-rioting: the Governor in Council, in order, as the Foujdaree Udalut observes, that the matter "might, of course, be taken out of the hands of the Circuit Judge, called upon the Magistrate to furnish (direct to Government) the information, in respect to the number of prisoners in confinement, charged with crimes against the State, and the nature of the evidence against them, which it was the object of the Precepts issued by the Judge to obtain."

That, at length, on the 31st May, feeling it in my own case impossible to remain longer silent under the reproaches of my conscience, which accused me; seeing all that I had seen of the panic in Malabar, knowing what I knew of the real events in Canara, hearing what I heard of them from all around me, and hearing of the number of persons that were being publicly executed; of being privy to the deaths of the

greater number who were dying in jail at Mangalore, all without another human being than my self to undertake their cause, or say one word, not in their defence, but in revelation of the real facts of the case; being further made privy to the nameless horrors, to which their homes and families were delivered up;

That the Governor in Council proclaimed martial law in several of the districts (counties) of Canara Proper: while the official report of the Judge stated to him, that the persons who had suddenly risen were "numbers of the inhabitants of the Coorg country," who had "taken possession of the treasure and that their further overt acts were, "to place their seals, together with our own, on our Dis. trict Cutcheries and Treasuries, and offer service to the Potails (village headmen) and servants:

In 1837, a drought, unparalleled for severity and duration, desolated the country for eight months; from the beginning of September, 1836, to the end of the following April, not a drop of rain fell. The cattle were perishing in hundreds; most of the wells, even in the vicinity of the sea, were dry, and water became very scarce for the uses of the people.

*

TO THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT,

FORT ST. GEORGE.

Anjarakandy, 27th June, 1837.

SIR,

In illustration of my letter of the 31st ult., I do myself the honour of sending some munitions of war, captured from the rebels" of Canara, in the shape of a powder-flask

filled with powder, and of a cartouche box containing two balls. The powder, it will be found on trial, may be used twice, or at most three times, before it renders the piece so foul as to be unserviceable; as to the balls, the casting of them was among the unknown arts in the Jungles of Soolia and Pootoor.

The spoils captured in the houses and villages of Canara are openly exhibited as the trophies of this war! As His Lordship in Council may not exactly recollect any Armoury, which the Spolia Opima I now send would grace, I should feel indebted by his directing them to be returned, in order that I may present them to the Economical Committee of the Royal Asiatic Society, as specimens of the uses in war to which the shells of abortive coconuts are applied.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

&.c. &c. &c.

F.C. BROWN.

*

FROM THE ZILLAH AND CRIMINAL JUDGE OF CANARA, TO THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT, FORT ST. GEORGE.

Cannanore, 6th April, 1837.

SIR,

I REGRET to have to notify, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, intelligence of the most disastrous nature, and which from the consequences likely to accrue from it must, I have every reason to believe, be attended with a vast loss of Civil life, both to the Civil and Military Departments of the Government, and which,

from the entire stop put by the rebels to all communication by Tappal from Mangalore, will probably be the first intimation Government can receive on the subject : consequently, I will attempt to lay before the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, the whole of the particulars, commencing from the period the Military were first called out, until the hour I left Mangalore; viz. two o'clock on Wednesday the 5th of April.

On the night (ten o'clock) of the 30th of March, the Collector of the district, Mr. -, without having the slightest idea of any spirit of disaffection existing in the district, received information from a Tahsildar of a Talook of the territory bordering upon the confines belonging to the late Rajah of Coorg, that numbers of the inhabitants of the Coorg country had suddenly risen, and taken possession of the treasure, amounting to about 15,000 rupees, together with the lead Sheristedar and his cutcherry of servants, who were on Jummabandy at the place. Mr. — without a moment's hesitation, together with his head Assistant, Mr. - Major - and three officers of the Regiment of N. I., with about 150 rank and file, proceeded, by forced marches, to the place called Pootoor, where the rebels were said to be assembled, and found them in numbers too strong to attack them openly. They consequently took up a position in a mud Bungalow where they remained, I believe, for upwards of twelve hours; but finding their men were gradually diminishing,† and the rebels opposed to them collecting, it was deemed advisable to retreat, and after having experienced hardships of every description, they were enabled to reach Mangalore on the i evening of the 3rd: and the morning of the 4th, Mr. – received hourly information of the advance of the rebels, from three sides, upon the town of Mangalore, and that two of his*

treasuries in the district had been looted of all that was in them; that the whole country in the immediate vicinity was in possession of the insurgents, who were reported to be assembled in number about 10,000 or 12,000, and The reports still continued, that men were advancing in determined to take Mangalore. A consultation was then held as to the proper mode of proceeding, and it was the unanimous opinion, that as the greater part of the inhabitants had left Mangalore; that as the united number of the effective Sepoys amounted only to 270 or 280 men; that as all communication had been cut off,+ and no reasonable probability could exist of our being speedily relieved by the arrival of troops ; that for the preservation of the lives of the Servants of the Government, the Sepoys, their families, and the Treasure in the place, an attempt should be made to remove the whole on board boats, and, abandoning the place, to proceed to Cannanore. The attempt was made, but owing to the want of boats and accommodation in sufficient numbers, it failed, and the Barracks on the parade ground, selected as the strongest position to which the Treasure should be removed, and with the Sepoys and Peons, was occupied by us during the night of the 4th, That night passed without an attack being made, and with nothing worthy of remark save two fires in the town-considered to be the work of a party of Moplas, apparently in league with the insurgents.*

*(*Devappah already mentioned*

+ The diminution in numbers previous to the retreat, I am unable to state.)

(The Honore detachment of about 70 men, reached Mangalore by sea on the 6th of April. Mr. E Maltby, the Joint-Magistrate there, lost not a moment in despatching every man

them to the aid of the place. This must be an oversight. The ommunication by sea, north or south, was not interrupted for one moment since, as the sentence states, the abandonment of Mangalore, in boats (meaning coasting vessels) "by the Servants of Government and the Sepoys," was unanimously determined on, and failed only for want of boats.)

The reports still continued, that men were advancing in numbers upon the town; and a flag of distress, hoisted at the signal-staff, attracted the attention of a vessel passing in the offing, which came to an anchor; and on Mr. – 's requisition, the Captain (Burtsal of the Eamont) dispatched from his vessel two six-pounders with shot. I have reason, however, to believe, that the place where these guns must have been landed, being in possession of the insurgents, who had suddenly come up that side (in number about 500, armed with guns and matchlocks), that our troops were never in possession of them.

It will now be necessary for me to inform the Right Honourable the Governor in Council of the cause of the Assistant Judge of the Adawlut, Mr. –, and myself, having arrived this day at Cannanore; and I have merely to state that, on returning from placing our families, and those of other residents, on board a boat to be sent to Tellicherry, and while at the mouth of the bar, within a few yards of the landing place, at about one P. M., we perceived the Coorg rebels coming up along the shore, as above alluded to, and almost at the same moment our own houses, the Court-house, the Collector's Cutcherry, with several other parts of the town, in a simultaneous flame. We shortly after heard sounds of muskets, and the blowing up of the Magazine: and, consequently, feeling confident that nothing but certain death most assuredly must take place, and no possibility of joining*

our comrades to be expected, we prevailed on our boatmen to take us through the bar, at the imminent risk of being shot by the men who were ranged along the shore, and fortunately effected a safe embarkation on the ship Eamont, which has this hour brought us to Cannanore.

After coming on board, we tacked on and off Mangalore, in the hope of some of our unfortunate friends being enabled to effect an escape, and joining us; but, with the exception of some ladies and a few others, I believe no one had been enabled to do so. At the period when Mr. – and myself left the shore, 11 A.M., there appeared to be no more immediate apprehension of the rebels coming down upon the town, than there had been for the last two days; but the simultaneous ignition of all parts of the town, the pouring in of the rebels from the three sides, at one and the same hour, evinces a plan of arrangement little to have been foreseen or apprehended.

The Captain of the vessel who had gone on shore, and who effected his retreat about half an hour subsequently to us, states that he did so with the greatest degree of difficulty, and thinking that the particulars of what he saw up to the minute of embarkation, would be more satisfactory to the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, it has been taken down in his own words, and accompanies this communication.

From a Proclamation issued by the rebels, I am inclined to believe that two individuals belonging to the late Rajah's Government, styling themselves Apparampar Swami and 'Kenchup Naique, are at the head of the insurrection ; but I am at a loss to imagine what their ultimate expectation or intention, with regard to remaining in possession of our

territory, can be, inasmuch as their system hitherto, as far as we were able to ascertain, has been to place their seals together with our own, on our district Cutcherries and Treasuries, and offer service to the Potaila and servants employed by us.

In conclusion, I must not omit to bring to the notice of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, the kind and anxious exertions of Captain Burtsal, of the ship Eamont, now on her way to Madras, who, at his own personal risk, at the requisition of the Collector, landed his Guns and Muskets, and where, after remaining as long as practicable, in the hope of saving the lives of those who might be fortunate enough to effect an escape, has hurried down to land us at Cannanore, in order to furnish this important and disastrous information to the Commandant of the district with the least practicable delay.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,

* * * *

Judge and Criminal Judge.

** It is consoling to know that the writer was deceived; the Magazine was never once in the least danger. The number of houses destroyed was, I believe, eighteen. He will forgive a stranger for observing, that the houses he speaks of the Court House, and the Collector's Cutcherry, form no part of the town. They are from one to two miles distant. Except his own, and the Sub-Collector's house, the latter near the lines, which were thatched and easily fired from without, all the others are solid, tiled buildings, placed on commanding eminences and if I add, that they were readily defensible against those who sailed them, I only express the opinions*

uttered by all persons who know the buildings and their situation. It will not surprise that, we found open and deserted, the latter were first plundered at leisure, and then fired from within by the rabble.

TO THE SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT IN THE SECRET AND POLITICAL DEPARTMENT, FORT ST. GEORGE.

Anjarakandy, 23rd November, 1837.

31. The second great shock received, was the arrival of the Eamont on the 6th of April at Cannanore, bringing all the other ladies and children, two gentlemen (one, it is said, compulsorily) and the two Judges of Mangalore; who, as is known to all, officially, and, I believe, conjointly, reported to the Government that they feared all human aid to Mangalore was vain: that the abandonment of the place by all the Europeans and Sepoys had unanimously been determined upon, and fruitlessly attempted, on the 4th of April, but that they (the writers) and the persons with them, it was feared, alone survived to bear witness to the truth of the tale.

32. Sir, if my wonder was not dissipated, if my absence and position made me the last person to hear all these astounding particulars, it was relief inexpressible to hear them, possessed of the assurance that not a single European, nor hardly a Native, life had been sacrificed at Mangalore, that ***the British flag had long since replaced that of the Insurgents****, and that the British authority was either restored, or had continued unshaken, throughout all the ancient district of Canara.*

72. The arms, means, and equipments of the Insurgents, will be best estimated from all the captured

munitions of War, which are doubtless at hand, and ready to be produced; their designs and numbers, from their own confessions, from the wealth and intelligence of their wealthiest leaders, and from the population of their districts. The casualties of Colonel Green's detachment, 1,000 strong, exposed for a whole day to their fire, will show their skill as marksmen *(The casualties on the occasion were, I believe, a drummer and a Bheestie wounded). As to the means of resistance at Mangalore, a military eye will, I think, have little difficulty in fixing on a part of the ancient defences, which may be deemed inexpugnable; and the same eye will descry a Pagoda at Pootoor, stored at the time (in April) with grain, supplied with water, and capable of being held against all ordinary assailants. But there is another position which, it is to be hoped, the Commissioners will visit in person; the position chosen for the erection of a Gibbet, which was in progress of being raised at Mangalore, while the Court Martial was sitting, and trying the Prisoners.*

81. Circumstanced thus, We are driven to reflect upon the primal cause, the origin and fount of all these mischiefs; upon what must be the course of conduct, the course of uniform mental discipline, which men must become habituated to, when it is seen that, in the momentous position of the British Empire in India, public men of high official rank, mature age, and reputed experience, could bring themselves to harbour, and to act upon, such a resolution as the total abandonment and immediate loss of a large Province, specially committed to their charge.

As to Gowdas, a caste of Hindoos, lately the subjects of the Rajah of Coorg, who headed this outbreak, I confidently refer to the testimony of the Officers who broke them into

the system of Jumma-bundies, that is, into the Madras system of annual surveys and settlements, an operation sufficiently trying to the temper of a body of rude farmers; and I ask those gentlemen tosay, whether they ever had to deal with a more harmless, tractable, inoffensive race of men, or men more disposed to be obedient and submissive to the novel Government placed over them ?

**The following is the confession of one of the first prisoners tried before the special commission:*

No. 1.—MEMORANDUM, showing the Beriz of Pagoda, &c. Lands assumed by Government, the Amount of Tusdeek granted in lieu thereof, and the Payments made on that account.

		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Cuddeem, or ancient Enam		. . .	610,165 6 10
Deduct,—Assumed by the former dynasties; viz. the Bednore Ranee, Hyder Alli and Tippoo		491,223 11 3	
Ditto the Estates of Nundavar Bungar, forfeited to Government for taking part in the insurrection in 1837		240 8 –	
			491,464 3 3
Balance,—Jaure Enam, or permanent remission of Beriz on Enam lands		19,283 10 5	
Beriz of Lands assumed by Company's Government, in lieu whereof Tusdeek or Money Allowance is paid; viz.			
Melwassi of ancient Enam	Rs. 72,591 5 6		
Walla Dhurma	18,132 7 8		
Kay Dhurma	7,239 – 5		
Gram Dhurma	450 10 5		
Balootar	1,004 1 2		
		99,417 9 2	
			118,701 3 7
Add,—Amount, being portion out of 50,000 rupees, for which Major Munro obtained sanction in Fusly 1209		. . .	30,221 11 8
		TOTAL . . .	148,922 15 3
Add,—On account of Lower Coory, annexed to Canara in Fusly 1244, Jaury Enam		198 6 5	
Lands assumed by the Company's Government, and Tusdeek paid in lieu thereof; viz.			

On 05 April 1837, the British Flag was lowered at this location (now known as Baavuta Gudde in Mangalore, India).

"The consultation to attack Bellarypet was held at Moodnoor, in Soolya, by K. Ramiah Gowda, the principal man, several Potails, and all the chief inhabitants of Amara Soolya, in number about fifty. *Kallianappa came from the Poomalèy jungle, with another Ramiah Gowda, and about 120 armed men. The whole party went to Bellarypet; the public servants and money were seized; Soobryah was sent with a force to Cassergode; the rest advanced to Pootoor, and repulsed the Sepoys. The rebel party here consisted of 200 armed men and 300 Ryots. From the Bungar Rajah's house, P. Antappa Shetty, and 200 armed men of Amara Soolya, advanced upon Mangalore. Many Ryots followed. At the last annual feast at Adoor, Narsoji and a Caffree woman, who were in jail at Mangalore, sent a Cadjan to Soobryah, inviting him to attack the town. After the jail was opened on the 5th of April), these two, with about 60 of the prisoners, joined Kallianappa. Three years ago, Apparampara was seized and confined for eight months in jail at Mangalore. He is the son of Rajah Appajee, the elder uncle of Veera Rajah, the last Rajah. On his release he was directed to go to Mysoor. I have heard that he was again seized and sent to Trichinopoly. Kallianappa was also seized and sent to Mysoor (Bangalore). He (this Kallianappa) is the son of the wife of Veer Rajander Wadya, an uncle of Apparampara's: the Kallianappa, who attacked Bellarypet, is another person; he is the son of a woman who was kept by the above Veer Rajunder Wadya, and is about twenty-five years of age, rather a fool, short, dark complexioned, and somewhat pock-marked. At the last Nowaratree festival, three persons (named) went to Trichinopoly, to see Apparampara; they saw Kallianappa (the first one) at Mysoor. He told them to raise a force below the Ghants, that he would raise one*

above. Ile and a merchant raised a force to attack Merkara (the capital of Coorg). L. Narnappa, Dewan, heard of the plot from a slave, and gave information to the Sirkar. Guns were placed in Merkara, and a gentleman (a conductor of ordnance) fell from the ramparts and died: The force not appearing the Dewan was disbelieved and put into confinement. Ramiah and the others, on this failure, were perplexed; when ***Ramiah exclaimed, "If even a dog could be found that was born in the palace (of the Rajahs), this dog would do to raise and command a force against the Government!"***

Munjya then said he would bring a person that was born in the palace; he went, and brought the Kallianappa, who attacked Bellarypet. For a month before the outbreak he was lodged in the Poomaley jungle. The Coorgs and the people of Amara Soolya (the rebels) are in great dread of cannon. When a ship came with a cannon, which made darkness with its smoke (the Hugh Lindsay steamer) the news spread through Coorg in a moment, there being posts at every three miles."

A LETTER TO THE HONOURABLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

3. The leading and striking points of the case, which I believed were sufficiently established to encourage and warrant the hope I entertained, resolve themselves, as succinctly as they can be embodied and derived from the evidence of facts and dates, into the following heads:

1) That on the 30th March 1837, an agrarian mob of at most 500 persons, late the subjects of the Rajah of Coorg, and armed, some few with matchlocks,

the rest with sticks and billhooks, collected together at Pootoor, a place situated in the Jungle at some distance from Mangalore, the Capital of the Province of Canara :

2) *That the principal Collector of the Province, accompanied by a party of 150 Sepoys, marched to the spot, and there took possession of a house (the traveller's bungalow):*

3) *That the party retreated from this position to Mangalore, in the middle of the night; there being at Pootoor a Pagoda perfectly defensible, supplied with water, and at the time stored with a sufficiency of grain:*

4) *That the party arrived at Mangalore on the 3rd of April:*

5) *That on the morning of the 5th of April, "a consultation was held" by all the European functionaries, Civil and Military at which consultation "the unanimous opinion" arrived at was, that "the proper mode of proceeding" was that "the Servants of the Government," (meaning thereby the European servants, Civil and Military,) "for the elevation of their lives, the Sepoys, their families, and the treasure in the place should," the whole, "be put on board boats," and setting sail, "abandon the place," and The provinces of Canara, "and proceed to Cannanore," eighty miles distant, the Military Head Quarters of the two maritime frontier Provinces of Canara and Malabar:*

6) *That "the attempt" to carry this "unanimous" resolution into effect, was then made; and the Servants of the Government, the Sepoys, their families, and the Treasure marched down to the beach for immediate embarkation, about thirty-six hours before a single man of the mob of rioters at Pootoor appeared, or "before an attack was made:"*

7) *That "the attempt failed, owing to the want of boats in sufficient numbers," to carry away the families of the Sepoys, who expressed their disgust at being ordered to abandon the place, and who almost broke out into open mutiny, when it appeared that they were required to embark, and desert a part of their wives and families:*

8) *That the wives and children of all "the Servants of the Government" were sent off by sea to Tellicherry and Cannanore:*

9) *That, nevertheless, "there was no appearance of the rebels coming down upon the town, before about One, P.M., on the 5th of April:"*

10) *That such was the terror, such the panic, such the total anarchy, which reigned at Mangalore, the Capital of the Province of Canara, the seat of the Government, and of the European Court of Justice, that, "for the three days previous, nearly the whole of the Judges' and Collectors establishments had quitted Mangalore, and the duties of every department had ceased to be performed:"*

11) *That this dissolution of all Government, this end of all legal authority and subordination, this utter want*

of all protection to life and person, and of all security to property, drove to flight all those of the inhabitants of Mangalore and their families, who could fly:

12) *That this general flight, the unparalleled occurrence, - "that the greater part of the inhabitants had left Mangalore," —it was, which was insisted on as the first and chief reason, at the "consultation" held on the 4th of April, in support of the "unanimous" resolution then taken by the Servants of the Government," of abandoning the place, and leaving the rest of the inhabitants, who could not fly, to the mercy of the insurgents, who were reported to be assembled in number about 10 or 12,000, and determined to take Mangalore:"*

13) *That all these occurrences, all these resolutions, all these attempts, and all these scenes, were officially, and in the very words here quoted, reported to the Governor in Council of Madras by the Zillah and Criminal Judge of Canara, "the hour" that he, having " fortunately effected a safe embarkation on the ship Eamont" on the 5th of April, arrived at Cannanore on the 6th, in company with "the Assistant Judge of the Adawlut," of whom he jointly speaks as the corroborator of his narrative:*

14) *That the Criminal Judge further reported, supported by another evidence, whose testimony he forwarded and refers to, that he beheld "the simultaneous ignition of several parts of the town," heard "the blowing up of the Magazine," and feared that all had been massacred;" "intelligence of the most*

disastrous nature," and likely to "be attended with a vast loss of life, both to the civil and military departments of the Government," which the Judge regretted "to have to notify for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council," as well as "to the Commandant of the District, with the least practicable delay :"

16) *That the official dispatch of the Criminal Judge from Cannanore reached the Governor in Council, on or before the 12th April, and the official dispatch from Mangalore of the 10th, reporting the utter defeats, and discomfiture, and dispersion, and great slaughter of "the rebels," reached him on or before the 16th, accompanied by the return of the casualties sustained by the troops in repelling the attacks, which casualties were declared to be one Sepoy killed, three wounded, one since dead:"*

18) *That with the official knowledge of all these plain, legible facts, and of all the previous occurrences before him, and with the responsibility of being required to know, that Mangalore is distant only eighty miles (at that season twelve hours' sail) from Cannanore, the head-quarters of one complete European, and of two Native regiments; of being required to know, that a body of these troops could have been transported by sea in row-boats, and landed at Mangalore, fresh with their arms and ammunition, in the space of thirty or thirty-six hours; the Governor in Council of Madras, on the 9th of May, many days after, published in the Gazette a General Order, in which, with much satisfaction,"*

he recorded "his approbation of the persevering gallantry with which the defence of Mangalore was maintained against repeated assaults by superior numbers, and in the uncertainty of being reinforced or relieved,"- and directs that the favourable sentiments with which the Government are impressed, by their steady and soldier-like conduct, throughout service of so harassing a nature, may be made known to the officers and men of the – regiment N. I.."

22) *..in the deliberate judgment of the Governor in Council of Madras, was deemed and declared to be treason and rebellion within the Regulation, and to be deserving, in the persons above described,* ***seized, and convicted before the Court Martial, "of the immediate punishment of death, by being hanged by the neck till dead," and of the forfeiture" to the British Government of all property and effects, real and personal :"***

FROM THE REGISTER AND ASSISTANT CRIMINAL JUDGE OF CANARA.

Mangalore, 14th April, 1837.

SIR,

It has become my duty to avail myself of an early opportunity, after the opening of communication with the Presidency, to report to the Judges of the Sudr and Foujdaree Adawlut, such circumstances connected with the present disturbances in Lower Canara as relate immediately to the department of the Court. In so doing it will be my endeavour to avoid allusion to such matter as does not immediately affect this department; but it is necessary, to render my

statement clear, that I should mention, that on the evening of the 30th ultimo, the Principal Collector, on receiving information that an insurrection bad broken out in the country lately belonging to the Rajah of Coorg and its vicinity, proceeded to the spot with a party of the military; but finding himself overpowered by the numbers of the insurgents, was compelled to effect a retreat with much difficulty and reduced numbers to Mangalore, which he reached on the evening of Monday the 3rd. As Mangalore was immediately threatened, it was necessary that every Sepoy of the small party present at the station should be available for its defence, and that the guard stationed at the jail, which is situated at a considerable distance from the Cantonment, should be withdrawn, their place being supplied by a levy of Peons, fully equal to the duty of preventing the prisoners from effecting an escape, unless aided by the enemy. On the evening of Tuesday, the 4th, the Judge, Mr. – visited the Jail. He found that the prisoners, emboldened by the absence of a Military Guard, were in a state of insubordination ; but the prompt measures he took of punishing the most turbulent soon restored quiet, and he remained on the spot until they were safely locked in the inner wards, and the confidence of the Jailor and Peons appeared to be restored. On the following morning (Wednesday the 5th), Mr. – again visited the Jail, when all was quiet, and Mr.– was satisfied that, unless an attack was made upon the station, their detention was ensured. I regret to state that, at a subsequent hour on Wednesday, an attack was made, when the prisoners were released by the insurgents, whom the greater part of them appear to have joined. I have also to state that an attempt was made to destroy the Court House and the Records which have suffered

considerable damage; but I have reason to hope that it is less extensive than could have been expected. The Jail remains uninjured. The present state of affairs does not admit of any steps being taken to apprehend the prisoners, except in common with the insurgents, who are still in arms; but several have been already seized, and I feel much confidence that, when quiet is restored, a great number, or all of them, will be retaken. I have communicated with the Sub-Collector of Canara at Honore, with reference to such of them as might be likely to return to their haunts in that part of the district.

The full report, made by Mr. –, to the Secretary to Government, will explain the cause of my addressing you at this moment.

I have the honour to be,

&c. &c. &c.

Register and Assistant Criminal Judge.

CHAPTER - 7
EYEWITNESSES

The Madras Almanac and Compendium of Intelligence, for 1839 compiled from the most authentic sources and published for the benefit of the Military Male Orphan Asylum

"An alarming, formidable, and serious insurrection broke out in Canara—the Insurgents with an irregular force of 5000 armed men, principally Moplas of that country, and of Persian origin, ***attacked the town of Mangalore, murdered the Dawk runners and cut off all communication by land—the Collector was driven out, the town set fire to from one end to the other, and a Powder Magazine blown up.*** *The Barque Eamont, Capt. N. Burstall, a vessel sailing from Bombay providentially passing the Port and observing signals of distress hoisted on the Flag Staff, stood into the roads immediately and rendered assistance.* ***The families of the***

Collector and other gentlemen residing at Canara, embarked and sailed for Cannanore*—reinforcements from the nearest stations and from Bombay arriving, the insurgents were repulsed with heavy loss, do. 5.* ***A second attack made by the insurgents at Mangalore: the enemy advanced from four different quarters, but being met by discharges from the colonnades smartly followed up by attacking parties, they were forced to retire with 40 killed, 2 of the number being leaders, April 7.***"

*

Author's Note

Powder magazine means an ammunition depot. In this case, the ammunition of the British East India Company's Army at Mangalore was blown up by the freedom fighters.

*

F.C. Brown (Francis Carnac Brown), Esq. of Tellicherry (1838). LETTERS TO AND FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, RELATIVE TO THE DISTURBANCES IN CANARA, IN APRIL, 1837

Author's note

Burstall (at some places spelt Burstall) was captaining the sailing ship Eamont on its way from Bombay to Cannonore. As a result of witnessing the developments of 05 April 1837, he shared the following thoughts with Francis Carnac Brown.

*

Captain Burtsal, who was the last on shore, has kindly allowed me to take down the particulars of the state in which he left the Cantonment at Mangalore.

" Upon my landing at Mangalore, in company with Lieut. Cotton of the Madras Cavalry, we immediately proceeded to the spot where the Sepoys were drawn out in line, and found that the lines had been attacked and set on fire, and musket shots were passing in several directions. The Collector, Mr. – and several other European Gentlemen, were collected, and on his inquiring what assistance I could afford him, I replied that the two Guns and a few Muskets, which were then on their way to the shore, was the only aid in my power. After remaining there a short time, and finding I could be of no service, I returned to the boat by the advice of Lieut. Cotton, who insisted upon remaining. I then got into my boat, and remained there for some time, expecting to be able to effect the escape of some of the Gentlemen of the place. Findin[illegible] however, no one approach, and hearing from several who came down to the shore that all had been massacred, aud that the rebels were mustering at the bar of the river, through which I had to pass, I made the best of my way out, and in doing so counted 32 men armed with matchlocks, who twice pointed them with the intention of firing at us, and latterly launched two canoes, which followed us to some distance. From what I saw of the confusion, and subsequent reports, together with the ceasing of the muskets, and the simultaneous ignition of so many parts of the town, I have little doubt but what I heard prior to leaving was authentic, and all had fallen."*

(Signed) A. BURSAL.

**The conduct of this Officer, Lieutenant Cotton, cannot be too generally known. He was a passenger on the Eamont, in bad health, going from Bombay to Madras. No sooner did he hear that some of his comrades on shore were in danger, than he insisted on instantly joining, and remaining with them, although told that he "would only share their hopeless fate." He it was who, on landing, if I am rightly informed, led a party of Sepoys to the attack of the insurgents.*

*

And when, at length, these formidable enemies did appear, when these warriors, not one of whom had been seen since the 2nd of April, did venture to come forth, with numbers vastly augmented by success, even the writer of this letter, who probably never saw 500 men assembled together in a body, rates their whole number at 2,000, states that only one in twenty had a matchlock, the rest bill-hooks, sticks, and clubs, that the armed and the unarmed trusted to their shouts, as their most terrible weapon, that the greater part, poor Ryots, only waited for a discharge of blank cartridge to fly to their homes in the jungles, and that the whole body did tly on the first volley of ball from the Sepoys ! All these facts and occurrences, detailed by this eyewitness to his family, indisputable and irrefragable as I firmly believe them to be, will appear incredible to His Lordship in Council. Well may they so appear, and would that they were incredible! But the sequel remains to be related, and I shall relate it the most succinctly I can.

" The Rebels," who compelled a party of 150 Sepoys to retreat from Pootoor in the dead of night, were at most 170 or 200 men, armed with bad matchlocks, and provided with a scanty supply of wretched ammunition, and about 200 or 300 Ryots, some of whom may have bad bows and arrows.

This fact is established by the testimony of Devappah, the head Sheristedar of Canara," who, with several others, was captured by the rebels" at Pootoor, and remained with them nearly a month. But the same information was given to me at this place on the 3rd of April, by a respectable koombla* merchant, who had just arrived from the rebels." They had sent for bin and for others. of the chief inhabitants, and asked them to join the rising; their arms and numbers he and the rest then saw aud noted.

*A sea-port in South Canara.

Satisfied with having driven the troops from their own country, "the rebels" followed no further than Buntwal, Sixteen miles from Mangalore, the limit nearly of the Jungle; and no one who knows the people or the country will suspect, that the former lad auy design of proceeding further, even if the absence of all design were not clearly proved by the fact, of not one of them having advanced ***until the morning of the 5th.***

the numerous assailants, 350 firelocks handled by disciplined men, against 200 matchlocks, 500 clubs, sticks, and bill-hooks, and 10,000 shouts! Such the exploit, which can boast, I hear, of having received the individual thanks of so distinguished a soldier as the Commander in-Chief!- Five thousand men in arms! The whole of Canara could

not produce them! The Canarese are not merely unwarlike, and unused to, but they are wholly averse to the use of armst: and as to 5,000 armed men issuing from the jungles of Bellarrypet and Soolia, unless men with matchlocks grow there like forest trees, or the poor creature, Kallianappa the IInd., could raise them from the earth by a stamp of his foot, I can assure his Lord ship in Council they are a physical impossibility. Would that the Commander-in-Chief could see a few of these warriors, examine their arms and ammunition, and look at them, loading and firing, with an Elephant for a mark!

On the 15th of April, the Bombay Troops reached Mangalore. The troops that had been poured in from Cannanore and Mysoor had, as was known, long preceded them. It was after this intelligence had been public several days, that a scene was acted at Tellicherry which shocked me past endurance.

*

Author's Note:

The line - **"few of these warriors, examine their arms and ammunition, and look at them, loading and firing, with an Elephant for a mark!"** symbolizes ancient India's unit of measurement. When the freedom fighters of the Amara Sulya movement, particularly the fighters from Sulya had gathered (who are in turn descendants of warrior chieftains of India), they must have shouted the measurement out loud. The measurement is called Gaja in the native languages - Kannada, Tulu, Arebhashe and Sanskrit, which translates to Elephant in English. It is a traditional form of measurement

used to calculate the distance (Example: 1 Gaja Doora - Doora translates to the word far; thus meaning as far as one elephant in front of the individual uttering the phrase.)

In the context of the Amara Sulya movement, the 'Elephant for a mark' was used as a measurement by the freedom fighters for precision shooting.

*

The most leading and marked among the events I have alluded to, that which doubtless made the greatest impression upon His Lordship in Council, as it at first made upon all who heard of it, were the attacks on Mangalore, "by 5,000 or 12,000 rebels in arms !" I will not trust myself with saying one word, upon my own authority, of this occurrence; but shall here insert, verbatim, an account of these attacks given by an eye witness, a native of Mangalore, in a letter to his father then residing in this town, an account intended only, as will be seen, for the information and satisfaction of the writer's own family.

Mangalore, April 15, 1837.

MY DEAR FATHER,

I know that you would have been glad if you had heard from us earlier, and I regret that I could not write before, because the post was shut to us up to the day before yesterday, and yesterday we had no leisure to write, having to attend to our duties. I hope, in God, that you are doing well; as for us, every one at home is quite well, thanks to the Almighty.

I have never thought that Mangalore would fall into such distress. It is a pity to see Mangalore in its present state. The greater part of the inhabitants have fled the country. Several have lost their houses and property. The best buildings at this place are reduced to ashes, and every man complains that he has lost something. I shall give a short account of all that passed here.

On Monday, the 3rd inst., while I was in Court, we received information of the defeat of a detachment of Sepoys, who went to Buntwal on the night of the preceding Friday, on hearing of a disturbance there. At the same time we heard that Coorg people were advancing upon the town of Mangalore. This news alarmed the whole town, and every individual was so anxious for his safety, that some went on board Pattamars, and others, who could not hire a vessel, proceeded to the sea-shore. Perhaps you will think we were safe from the infection; no, it was general. We, and some other families, among whom was that of our neighbour, procured a Pattamar, wherein we remained from Monday night to Wednesday morning, intending to sail for some neighbouring port, in case the enemy should make an attack upon us. Every hour that we were on board, we received information that *"the devil Apparampara was coming;"* but one day and two nights passed quietly without his making his appearance; and considering that the news were false, we began to be tired of the Pattamar, particularly as the owners thereof, taking advantage of the occasion, had raised the freight so much, that each night cost us all about twelve rupees. We, therefore, landed on Wednesday morning about eight o'clock. We had scarcely arrived at home when we

heard that the Coorg people had marched as far as the other side of the Oollaul river. To know whether this was true, I ran to the Marine-yard; and after I saw them with my own eyes, I did not lose a moment, but ran home, and gave the information to every one. We removed all the moveables from the house, and placed them in the garden, that, in the event of the house being fired, the property at least should be saved; we were afraid of the house, because the Sub-collector's Cutcherry was near, and it was very probable they would set fire to it. Within a quarter of an hour the

(A gentleman wrote, "I have had a long conversation with a smart fellow who quitted Mangalore on Wednesday. His account of the proceedings is deplorable, and evidently pretty correct. Not the least attempt bundobust by proclamations and patroles of Peons, during the two days and a half from the return of the Sepoys, till the attack was made!"

An official report stated, that for the three days previous, nearly the whole of the Judge and Collector's establiments had quitted Mangalore, "and that the duties of every department had ceased to be performed!")

Coorg people appeared, and halted near uncle's house; and here they are said to have made a bow to the church (the Roman Catholic Church), and a moment before the Coorg people were seen in numbers about 2,000 near the signal staff; and, at the same time, we perceived several houses on fire, and among them the large house of Mr. Sheffield. The people then advanced as far as the Court-house (old), and then the Sepoys, whom the number of the enemy had perhaps

frightened out of their wits, and who were going up and down the Old Fort, as if at a loss of a proper place to take their station, entered Mr. Hudleston's compound, and an Officer with some Sepoys went to meet the enemy, who had now arrived near the Barracks; while another Officer followed his example, and proceeded with a few Sepoys near the Mess-house, where he halted, and fired a volley of balls at the men, who were ranged near uncle's house; one or two men fell on the spot, and the rest immediately dispersed and ran different ways; but the Sepoys followed them, and killed many. More than a hundred fell in the river, while they were attempting to cross it, the Sepoys firing from the shore into the boats. Those who came as far as the Barracks from the Milagres side likewise ran away, as soon as the Sepoys fired at them, but few of them fell; but the slaughter was very great among those who came from the Bollar-road. I pity their case; they were mere Ryots, and were forcibly brought by the Ringleaders; and I heard from a boy, who lay wounded on the road, that the greater part of the men were inoffensive villagers, and that nothing but the fear of death at the bands of the rebels, not only of themselves but of their Family, induced them to join in the insurrection. Among them I even saw some who could not walk but with the aid of a cane; others had scarcely any instrument in their hands but sticks and clubs; and one of twenty was armed with a matchlock, and one carried large coythats, or bill hooks. Yet they were setting up such alarming "cooks"

or cries, that they frightened the town with it, more than with their number of arms; and I think that THAT was the best prowess of their military skill.

But with all this, and the extent of their number, they fled at the fire of a few Sepoys, who, had they known their courage before, would not have suffered them to step into Mangalore; but they thought they were the same that defeated them at Buntwal. But that was a jungle and this a plain. Of the second attack I have nothing more to say, than that the Sepoys had more courage than before their success on Wednesday; the day of the second attack was Friday, and we were at home on this day, but on Monday we went near Pascoa's house. The fire of the Sepoys did not last more than a quarter of an hour, and soon the enemy retreated; and since that day they have not made their appearance again, and if they now make another attack I should be very glad, for there is now sufficient force here, and they will receive a good drubbing. But I think he is not so foolish as to enter Mangalore now. About 800 men with some guns arrived here on Wednesday last from Cannanore, and on Thursday we received 200 men with 60 cavalry men from Nuggur. Among those who came from Cannanore, there are 200 Europeans; and this morning we have received a further reinforcement from Bombay, consisting of 300 Sepoys; and 200 Europeans are coming in the rear. Now we are not afraid, and you must not have much concern about us.

I, and every one at home, request your blessing,

&c. &c.

I remain Your most obedient and affectionate Son,

* * * *

Excuse haste and the handwriting.

*A letter from Mangalore reported that, ***"after hard fighting, they completely drove away the insurgents. Two guns landed from the Eamont did tremendous execution."*** Of the two shots from the guns, the Natives declare that one struck a tree, the other a house; but the report was quite enough, and sent "the rebels" scampering away.

Such, Sir, is the account given by this lad of the attacks on Mangalore, on the 5th and 7th of April, 1837.

*

Major Evans Bell (1885). Memoir of General John Briggs, of The Madras Army

Letter from a Mr. John Sullivan to General John Briggs

"Brighton, 22nd Nov. 1850.

"MY DEAR BRIGGS,- Two or three trifling inaccuracies have crept into your last interesting article, which you may as well correct to prevent carping. You club Malabar and Canara together, and say that they were ceded to us in 1792. It was only Malabar that was ceded by Tippoo in 1792. Canara was not taken till 1799. Munro was never in Malabar before 1817, and then only for a few months as Commissioner, but he was the first Collector of Canara after the downfall of Tippoo in 1799. The Nairs are in Malabar; there are no Nairs in Canara. The strangest proof that could be afforded of the inflammable materials of which our Empire is composed, was the rebellion which broke out in Canara in 1837, and which, but for the prompt arrival of a Regiment by a steamer from Bombay, would have spread over all the

Peninsula. It took more troops than fought at Assaye to put it down, and the heads of villages were its most active abettors. Lewin was principal Collector. He and the Judge, and all Europeans, shipped themselves off from Mangalore, and could only regain their position under cover of the troops. Private property in land has existed in Canara for two thousand years in a most perfect form. All the land is saleable at a high price, the assessment is fixed and moderate. The people had no grievance but an abominable tobacco monopoly, and yet they broke out, risking the loss of all they possessed, and even of their lives, at the instigation of a few conspirators from Coorg.

"I am glad to see that you are at work again. If you should collect these Essays and print them separately, I think the one contained in the last Indian News should form the first in the series. Pray don't give the enemy an advantage by speaking in unqualified terms of the bad government of our predecessors. Considering the incessant wars and revolutions in which they had been engaged for a full century after the Mogul Empire broke up: it is quite a wonder that there was any government at all. Yet in the midst of incessant fighting, the civil institutions were undisturbed and almost everywhere the country was flourishing. Since our last good piece of work, when we put down the Pindarry ravages in 1818, we have held India with such an iron grasp that hardly a shot has been fired in our territory; but what have we made of this quiet interval ? The Government is more in debt, and I doubt if the people are so rich. Pray draw largely on your biographical stores as you go on. Give us Nana Furnavees and such like. What poor pigwies we are, as Indian

administrators, when compared with Natives of that stamp! I am glad you have shown up Mr. Thornton. What a misfortune — what a crime that the jobbing patronage given to his trumpery History should have deprived us of Elphinstone's sequel !

" Ever yours sincerely,

"J. SULLIVAN."

The next letter was written five years later, on the very eve of the terrible convulsion of 1857, which they may both be said to have foreseen, although they certainly did not anticipate that it would come so soon, and that it would follow so closely the annexation of Oude, so lightly and so confidently undertaken.

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CHAPTER - 8
EVENT REPORT

Letters to and from the Government of Madras, relative to the disturbances in Canara in April, 1837; F.C. Brown, Esq. Smith, Elder and Co., London - 1838

Author's note:

The following is a startling revelation brought out by the book. Because of this revelation, it is less surprising that the knowledge about the incident was suppressed in society till India gained political independence in 1947. Over the years, I have often wondered how such a great incident could be forgotten. This incident seems to have an eccentric dynamic. Anecdotes like my dad's about his mother mentioning the incident at odd times while cooking or doing other chores come to mind.

Here is an excerpt that clarifies the situation.

*

"I was informed by a Native of Mangalore, that he saw the town crier go about the town, about a month ago (October, 1837), with a paper in his (the crier's) hands, from which he read aloud, that all persons were forbidden to speak of the late disturbances, under pain, if heard, of being taken up and committed to Jail. I asked the reason of this Proclamation. To frighten and silence the people," replied the man. "As to committing prisoners," said he, if there was another Jail at Mangalore, as large as the present one, that too would be filled with them." *Observing my great surprise and incredulity relative to the Proclamation, he produced a Talook Gomastah to corroborate what of he "rebel" prisoners, the Special Judicial Commission had, by the middle of September, tried 200, who were not half the number of those whose trials were then determined upon; and as the Commission did not leave Mangalore before the beginning of February, not less than about 500 persons, in addition to those executed by Martial Law, must have been arraigned and tried upon the Madras Statute of Treasons, in consequence of this unhappy outbreak. There remains to know how many more died in Jail, a Jail proverbially deadly and fatal to the Natives confined in it."*

*

Manual of The Administration of The Madras Presidency, In Illustration of The Records of Government & The Yearly Administration Reports; Volume II - Appendices; E Keys, The Government Press - 1885.

"In 1834, on the occasion of the deposition of the Coorg Rajah, the inhabitants of Amara and Soolya petitioned for annexation. *The Government complied with their request,*

and the Magannies were added to the Poottoor division of South Canara. This, however, caused some dissatisfaction, and one Calianappa Soobroya, taking advantage of the feeling of loyalty still retained towards the old Coorg dynasty, raised an insurrection in 1837. A want of vigour on the part of the local authorities gave courage to what was at first a mere riot. The insurrection spread, and the troops retreated from Poottoor to Mangalore. The rebels followed and sacked the civil offices and jail in the face of the troops, but soon retired and broke up into small gangs of marauders. These were speedily dispersed, and the ringleaders seized and punished and in a very short time the whole country was quieted. At no time was this insurrection formidable; the men were armed with clubs and a few match locks, and a determined front would have broken it at any time. The records were destroyed, however, and much property plundered. In 1860, the province was divided into two districts, North and South Canara, of which the former was transferred to the Bombay Presidency in 1862."

South Canara; J.Sturrock, IAS; The Superintendent, Government Press - 1894

"The town again came into the hands of the English after the fall of Seringapatam in 1799. Since that time ***the only disturbance has been during the Coorg insurrection in 1837, when the rebels entered the town and burnt the cutcherry.*** *The East India Company held a monopoly from the Rájá of the magazines here for sandalwood growing on the Mysore hills."*

Ancient and Modern India; W. Cooke Taylor; ames Madden, London - 1857

"1887.-LORD ELPHINSTONE arrives as Governor, March 6. The order of "British India," for the decoration of Native officers, is established. An insurrection at Canara; the Moplas and others, being infuriated, murder different persons. A Bombay ship passing near, affords relief to the persons confined within the Castle of Mangalore. The insurrection is suppressed."

Dua, J. C. (1994). British In'am policy & Palegar resistance in ceded districts: Select documents relating to Narasimha Reddy's resistance, 1846-47. Delhi: Treveni Publications.

Mr. Lewis states, ***"admits the commission of acts which fully constitute the crime of rebellion" but that "there is no evidence of the commission of personal violence by any one of them."***

Accounts and Papers, Vol. XL East India: Idolatry (India), The House of Commons - 1849

Mention of the ***Estates of the Nundawar Bungar, forfeited to Government for taking part in the insurrection in 1837*** **- 240 Rs. and 8 annas.**

Mention in accounts pertaining to endowed revenue assumed by government and other accounts of lands assumed by Government.

No. 1.—MEMORANDUM, showing the Extent of Peishcush, &c. Lands assumed by Government, the Amount of Tuzdeek granted in lieu thereof, and the Payments made on that account.

	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Coddeem, or ancient Enam - - - - - - - - - - - - -	-	-	-	610,165	6	10
Dubaut,—Assumed by the former dynasties; viz. the Bednore Rajas, Hyder Ally and Tippoo - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	491,208	11	8			
Ditto the Estates of Nundavar Bungar, forfeited to Government for taking part in the insurrection in 1837 - - - - - - - - - - - - -	246	6	-			
				491,464	3	8
Balance,—Jaury Enam, or permanent remission of Beris on Enam lands - - -	19,283	10	5			
Beris of Lands assumed by Company's Government, in lieu whereof Tuzdeek or Money Allowance is paid; viz.						
Melwasi of ancient Enam - - - - - Rs. 72,581 5 6						
Walla Dharma - - - - - - - - - 18,132 7 8						
Kay Dharma - - - - - - - - - 7,239 - 6						
Grass Dharma - - - - - - - - - 450 10 8						
Baloutar - - - - - - - - - - 1,004 1 2						
	99,417	2	2			
				118,701	3	7
Add,—Amount, being portion out of 50,000 rupees, for which Major Munro obtained sanction in Fusly 1209 - - - - - - - - - - - -	-	-	-	30,221	11	8
TOTAL - - -				148,922	15	3
Add,—On account of Lower Coory, annexed to Canara in Fusly 1244, Jaury Enam	198	6	5			
Lands assumed by the Company's Government, and Tuzdeek paid in lieu thereof; viz.						

The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China, and Australasia, Volume 23, Wm. H. Allen and Co. - 1839

THE DISTURBANCES IN CANARA, IN 1837

WE have received a printed copy of a correspondence between Mr. F. C. Brown, of Tellicherry (now in England), and the Government of Madras, prefaced by a letter from that gentleman to the Court of Directors, relative to the disturbances which occurred in the province of Canara, in April 1837. The object of the work is to bring before the public some very serious charges against the local Government, and certain of the official functionaries, at Madras, which may be comprized under the following general heads:- ***That an attempt was made to abandon Mangalore, the capital of Canara, by the servants of the Government, civil and military, on the 4th April 1837, in consequence of the assemblage of an "agrarian mob" of***

five hundred persons, but long before a single man of the "mob of rioters" had appeared:

That this dereliction of duty, which only failed owing to the want of boats to carry away the families of the sepoys, produced disgust in the minds of the native troops-who almost broke out into open mutiny-as well as terror, panic, and total anarchy in the country, The inhabitants having fled in consequence of this dissolution of government and utter want of protection to life and property :

"That a false representation was made to the Governor in Council at Madras of the state of affairs in Mangalore: That, notwithstanding the facts had become known to the Governor in Council, a general order was published, which, as well as a proclamation of martial law in several of the Canara districts, contained an untrue statement of the facts relative to the insurrection and the defence of Mangalore:

That the Governor in Council, on a supposed "extreme necessity," which did not exist, delegated the power of carrying into immediate execution, without reference to Madras, the capital sentences passed upon the prisoners by the court-martial:

That the functionaries, who were enjoined to assist in expediting the trial of the prisoners spared by martial law, were persons who had been present at, or parties to, the attempt to abandon Mangalore, and had been actively engaged in detecting and seizing all persons accused of participation in the disturbances :

That the principal of these functionaries, to whom the Governor in Council delegated, individually, the power of pardoning any person whose evidence he might require, issued a proclamation, fixing prices upon the heads of two natives, described as the rebel leaders, both of whom were at the time, and had been for months previous, prisoners in gaols many hundreds of miles distant from the disturbances:

That, at length, on the 31st May, Mr. Brown-feeling it impossible, with a knowledge of the facts, to remain longer silent under the reproaches of his conscience, and hearing of the number of persons who were being publicly executed, and of the greater number who were dying in gaol, without other human being to say one word in revelation of the real facts, and "being further privy to the nameless horrors to which their homes and families were delivered up" - addressed the Governor in Council, supplicating for mercy to these ignorant and misguided creatures, who were from the beginning a mere mob, imploring that he would grant a brief space for investigation by unbiassed men of rank and character, whereas the Governor in Council, not till five months after the official report of the disturbances, appointed in September 1837) a commission, consisting of a military and civil member, "to inquire into the causes of the insurrection," which commission has never yet produced any result :

That, after the appointment of the commission, the town-crier of Mangalore went about the town with a proclamation, prohibiting the inhabitants from even speaking of the scenes and events they had witnessed or suffered from, under pain of being sent to gaol.

These are the principal heads of the charges (divested of direct references to individuals) into which Mr. Brown considers that "a full, a strict, an impartial, and a public inquiry," is called for by "the demands of public justice, the cries of humanity, the honour of Great Britain, and the future preservation of India."

*

The Calcutta Review, Vol. XXVI.; W.H. Allen and Co. London - 1856

Author's Note

From this book, we come to know that on 10 April 1834 the English flag was hoisted at Madikeri and Chikka Vira Rajah, the last ruler of the successive line of Haleri Dynasty was deposed from his capacity. The book further goes on to explore the mystery of Aparampara, who was widely believed to have spearheaded the anti - British sentiments and parallely was also said to have been jailed at the same time. While he has been a mystery character all the while, the British have aptly summed up saying that he was everywhere and nowhere at the same time. Another account attempts to explore his bloodline, thereby arriving at a thought that he is linked to the Haleri Dynasty, giving weight to his claim over the reigns. But another story talks of his spotting being around since 1833, that is before Coorg was even taken over by the British. All these undoubtedly make him a mysterious character!

The book also reveals a shocking matter that, Chikka Vira Rajah, immediately after he was dethroed by the British East India Co., had buried part of his treasures, and murdered some of his relatives at his Nalknad Palace

(South of Kodagu). In the process of exterminating his kin, it is said, he had spared some aged females. This is where Aparampara's story/begin gets highlighted.

*

There was a rumour in Coorg, during the ex-Rajahs time, that one of the Haleri princes was still alive, but wandered about in other parts of India. The Rajah himself seems to have given some credit to the rumour. When the palace at Virarajandrapet was built, under Lingaraja, the people raid, that the residence was intended for the Haleri Prince; no man, however, in Coorg had seen him for many years. In 1833, the news spread in Coorg, and reached the Rajah, that a Sanyasi, an extraordinary man, went about in the Munjerabad district, (North of Coorg) that he had a number of followers, performed miracles, and composed extempore songs like Dasapadas. Some of his verses were brought to Mercara, and sung in the palace. The Rajah became curious to see the man. At last a report came from the Northern frontier gate, that Abhrambara wished to enter Coorg. He was desired to come to Mercara. On his arrival, he was brought into the palace, and introduced to the Rajah. He was a tall powerful man; his hands reached almost down to his knees; he was dressed very sparingly, and wore a large beard, looking more like a Mussulman Fakir than a Hindu Sanyasi. The Rajah asked him: Who are you? "A man," was his answer. R. Where is your home ?" 8." Here." R. "Who was your mother ?" S. "The womb." R. "Who is your father ?" The Sanyasi continued to give the Rajah short, contemptuous, and more and more indecent answers, so that he was greatly annoyed, and,

though afraid of maltreating him, (for the man had an imposing appearance,) he sent him abruptly away, and ordered him to live near the Rajah's tank, which was carefully guarded, where he should receive, whatever he required for food the Sanyasi, however, wanted very little; he used to eat one or two small brinjals, and a few tender shoots of rushes, every day, without touching anything else. The tank guards were ordered to have a sharp eye upon him; but on the third morning, about 10 o'clock, after he had performed his ablutions, while the guards were walking about, he suddenly disppeared. Report was made to the Rajab, who caused strict search to be made, and immediately despatched messengers to the different frontier gates. All in vain. Abhrambara was no more seen in Coorg till after the establishment of the Company's government, when he appeared again in the North of Coorg with a retinue of about 100 people, Sanyasý, Brabmins, Jangamas, &c. *It is said, that he visited Italeri in order to see his wife, one of the women, who live in the old palace on a pension from the Company; that be there held a kind of Durbar, which was attended by a number of Coorgs and others, who, however, entreated him to leave the country again for fear of the new Sarkar, that his followers gradually increased to 500, whom he fed every day out of one dish of rice, which never failed. Abhrambara's story moves altogether on the confines of reality and myth. Captain Le Hardey, the then Superintendent, heard of the man, and wished to apprehend him; but he was not to be caught. Two of his followers, Kalyanabasava, and Puttubasava were seized at Baitur, in the Maleyalam, and brought to Mercara. Lakshmanarayana, one of the Dewans, began to meddle in these matters, and*

eventually was sent prisoner to Bangalore. His brother at Sulya was at the head of the so-called Coorg insurrection of 1837.

*

Author's Note:

The last line above supposedly mentions Atlur Rampayya, whose involvement is very much there in the Amara Sulya incident, but the widespread belief is that his involvement was antithesis to the incident, which is contrary to the account mentioned above.

*

Virarajah contrived to keep up a secret correspondence with Coorg, and to revive from time to time rumours of his return to the principality. Few men, if any, wished to see him come back, and to exchange the mild and unoppressive rule of the Company for the excitement and the terrors of the old regime.

The causes of the abortive outbreak in 1837 have not fully come to light.

One of the Dewans, the above named Lakshmi narayana, a Brahman, who was ill-pleased with the ascendancy of his Coorg brother-Dewans, was deeply implicated. A brother of his at Sulya, in the low country, to the West of the Coorg Hills, which had been ceded by the Company to old Virarajendra as a reward for his services during the Mysore wars, was in league with some rich and influential Gandas, a tribe on the Western slope of the Ghats, who resemble the Coorgs in many of their habits, and sometimes intermarry

with them. These were disaffected to the Company's Government. After the annexation of Coorg, the districts of Amara Sulya, Puttin and Bantwala, the latter adjoining that of Mangalore, had been retransferred to the province of Canara, from which they had been taken. Under the Rajahs, the assessment had been paid in kind. The Collector of Mangalore, now, demanded cash payment; this was considered a grievance, as the farmers were laid under tribute by the money changers. The insurgents assembled at Sulya. They were a mere rabble, but they made a successful attack at Puttur on the Collector of Mangalore, and two companies of sepoys. A party of the rebels, whose courage and numbers increased after their unexpected success, advanced to Mangalore, opened the jail, and, with the assistance of the prison fraternity, burnt and looted the Cutcherry and some Civilians' houses, situated on the hills overlooking the town. All the world was seized with a panic. The Civilians, who fled on board a ship, which carried them to Cannanore were spectators of the conflagration of their houses behind them, and thought the whole country was in arms. The commanding officer held a council of war, usually a very unwarlike thing; and, had boats been procurable, the garrison consisting of a Regiment, much weakened, it is true, by the detachment of several companies, would have embarked and run away before a few hundred Gandas, if so many, and the rabble of the jail. Troops were immediately sent from Cannanore and Bombay; but, when they arrived, they found nobody to fight with.

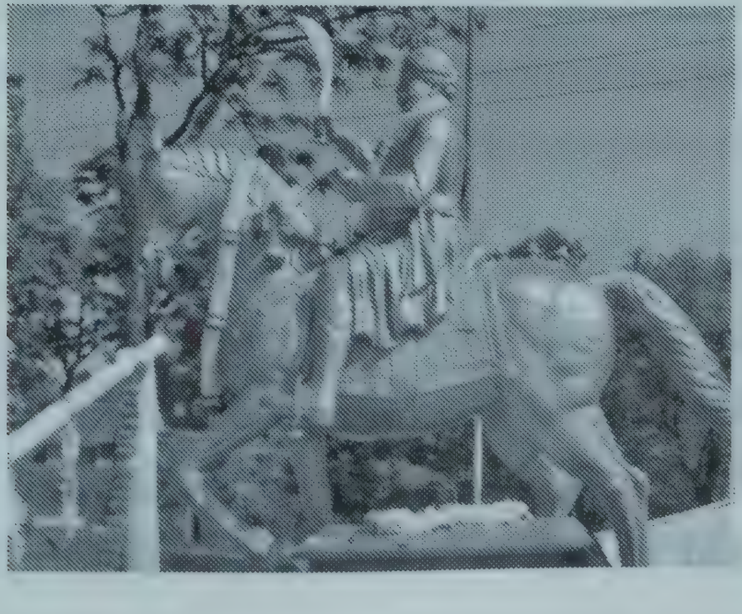
The Mangalore garrison recovered their presence of mind, and had no difficulty in maintaining their ground,

and restoring order. This was altogether a Gauda affair. However, from the centre of the movement at Sulya, two other trains were fired, one across Nakanad and Beppunad, the centre of the C org world, to Virarajendrapet, the second town in Coorg, and the principal place of trade;- *the other across the districts of Panje and Ballari and Subrahmanya to the northern parts of Coorg, inhabited by Badagas, who had been trusted and favored by the ex-Rajah above the Coorgs. The Dewan, Kantabasava, had his relatives, connections, and his ever ready tools there. Formal proclamations were issued, in the name of that mysterious personage, Abhrambara, who seemed to be everywhere and nowhere. The Coorgs and other inhabitants of the country were summoned to the service of the great prince of the Haleri house, who was about to take possession of his inheritance.* ***A number of Coorgs about Talekaveri and Nalkanadu believed the Nirupas, to which a Rajah's seal was attached, and the assurances of the messengers who carried them. They took up arms, and went down to the head quarters at Sulya. Abhrambara's letters patent were carried to Beppunad.*** *The Coorgs there, officials and others, were taken by surprise, not knowing what to believe, and unable to discern the safer side, they hesitated. After a day or two, a deputation from Virarajendrapet went to Mercara, to see the Dewans, to report to them and ask for their directions. Captain Le Hardey, the Superintendent, was on the alert. After consultation with the Dewans, he left Ponappa at Mercara, and marched with Bopu and a body of troops in the direction of Sulya as far as Sampaji, whether* ***Bopu had received intelligence that the insurgents were moving from***

Sulya. When Captain Le Hardey, after a long and tedious march, had reached Sampaji at the foot of the Ghats, no rebels were to be seen, and he learnt, that they had moved towards the Bislighat and the North Coorg. It was impossible to follow the insurgents through a tract of forest hills, difficult of passage even for travellers. He returned, therefore, to Mercara, and marched to the supposed rendezvous of the rebels, through the upper districts of Coorg. When he arrived there, still accompanied by Bopu, no insurgents were to be seen, and intelligence now reached his camp, that the enemy was at Sampaji. He forthwith marched to Sampaji by way of Kadamakall. Again no rebels. *The Superintendent began to doubt the fidelity of his Dewan companion. On his return to Mercara, he was told by Bonappa, the Coorg nobleman, who seems to have borne the poor parvenu, Bopu, a grudge, that information had been received in the mean time of several of Bopu's relatives having joined the insurgents.* ***Captain Le Hardey's suspicions were thus confirmed. He called Bopu, and charged him strait with treachery. Go down to your friends, the rebels; be an open enemy; go, and I will come after you, and, if I catch you, you shall be hung.*** *Bopu, who was as faithful a servant of the Company as his friend Bonappa, was terribly alarmed. Appearances, certainly, were against him; yet he was innocent. But how was he to regain the confidence of the chief, which he had evidently lost? The man broke out into tears, and protested his fidelity with the eloquence of despair. Do you stay at Mercara, Captain Le Hardey, he said, and let me quell this miserable rebellion. If you give me liberty to act according to circumstances, and take all responsibility*

upon yourself, I will set out immediately, and bring you the ringleaders alive or dead. Captain Le Hardey felt the man was true, and permitted him to do as he pleased. The Coorgs from Beppunad and other districts had in the mean time collected at Mercara. A party of some sixty men was despatched to the North under Subadar Appachanna. Bopu, with another troop, marched straight down to Sampaji.

Two Lictors of his own fashion proceeded the Coorg Consul, viz. two coolies, each of them carrying a load of fresh cut sticks. The Dewan evidently intended to give the rebels a licking in the literal sense of the word. ***His best Nalkanada friends gathered around him; three of them marched a little in advance of the Dewan to scour the way before him; for Chetty Kudiya, who had been the late Rajah's shooting master and great favorite, a man of the Malekudiya caste, one of the jungle tribes, who could bit, if he chose, they said, the eye of a flying bird, had sworn to shoot Bopu dead the moment he saw him. The party had not proceeded farther than a quarter of a mile from Mercara, and were just descending the Ghat, when they met two unlucky wights, a former Subadar, Muddaya, and a late Parpatigara, Appaya.***



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Author's note:

The image above is an equestrian statue erected in honour of Hon. Guddemane Appaiah Gowda, said to have been hanged to death by the British East India Co. on 31 October 1837 at the entrance to the Madikeri Fort. While he is said to be of the rank of Subedar today, the above-mentioned record reads Parpategara, an honorable post in the bygone days. Along with him is mentioned a Muddaya, denoted with the rank of a subedar. This reference is believed to be that of Subedar Nerpanda Madayya of Nalkanadu. He is said to have led a troop of freedom fighters from Talakaveri and Nalknadu upto as far as Sulya. Since the records mention headquarters at Sulya, it could well mean Bellare, the place where the movement itself began. His and Guddemane Appaiah Gowda's mention as contemporaries speak volumes on how freedom fighters had come together for the cause of liberation of Bharat from British East India Co. by leaving behind the baggage of distinctness in the name of caste (Subedar Nerpanda Madayya hails from the Kodava community, while Hon. Guddemane Appaiah Gowda, as the name itself suggests is a Gowda). It is unfortunate in Post - Independent India that divisions continue to linger on the lines of ethnicity, linguistics and geography, while brave sons of the soil stood shoulder to shoulder when it came to defending this great soil.

*

They were well known to Bopu. They had failed to give information of the insurrection; they must have known things, and had they sent him a message in due time, it would have saved him the danger of utter disgrace and ruin, from which he had barely escaped. He, therefore,

ordered some of his followers to seize the fellows, and others to take out a fresh stick for each and give them a good blow up. The two unfortunates, at once seized by rude hands and stripped of their coats, demanded explanation; they were answered by blows. They protested their innocence, though no charge had been brought against them. Bopu did not stop to expostulate. Blows was the answer. They cried for mercy; fresh blows followed. After a while they were left half dead on the ground, and Bopu marched on. Half way down the Sampaji pass, he met with a party of Nalkanadu Coorgs, men of his own acquaintance; *they were armed, but dared not to fight the Dewan; he at once ordered them all to be seized by his men, who were much more numerous, and administered a severe castigation to all except one, who escaped by telling all he knew about the movements of the insurgents. Bopu went on gloriously. He did redeem the promise given to Capt. Le Hardey. The Subadar of Nalkanadu had been drawn into this foolish affair. Bopu sent him word and then had a meeting with him, when he prevailed on him without difficulty to withdraw from the rebels and to return to the allegiance he had sworn to the Company. The loss of so influential a man was a great blow and discouragement to the petty insurrection. It was put down with little shedding of blood beyond that which was drawn and from that day Coorg has been at peace.*

Parbury's Oriental Herald and Colonial Intelligencer, Volume 1; The East India Voyager by Miss Emma Roberts; 1838

Since the cession of Coorg to the Company, two of its richest Talooks have been made over to the Canara

Collectorate; but five still remain, the revenue arising from which, is said to amount to a lac and a half of rupees annually. The expense of the civil and military establishments are estimated at about two and a half lacs of rupees per annum, so that the disbursements exceed the income by a lac of rupees yearly. But, against this, large sums are often realised from the sales of sandalwood, ivory and other articles. The civil establishment is said not to exceed in expense that of the late Rajah; but an entire regiment of Native Infantry, and some Artillery being kept there, greatly augments the charges of the Province.

CHAPTER - 9
BACKDROP

Author's note: For an event of this magnitude, there must be a backdrop that sufficiently sets the scene - as to what really catapulted the sons of the soil into action against the British East India Company. While there have been interpretations of how the matter could have occurred, the records point to the undeniable reason responsible for the Amara Sulya movement.

*

THE MYSORE REVERSION, "AN EXCEPTIONAL CASE"; Major Evans Bell; Trubner and Co., Paternoster Row - 1866

*They also observe that at the same time, and for the same assigned cause, viz., **oppressive taxation**, there was an insurrection in the adjacent British district of Canara, where the assessment of the land revenue was much higher than that prevailing in Mysore.*

*

Letters to and from the Government of Madras, relative to the disturbances in Canara in April, 1837; F.C. Brown, Esq. Smith, Elder and Co., London - 1838

Author's Note

The following paragraph throws light on the context prevalent prior to the time of the movement.

*

*In 1837, a **drought, unparalleled for severity and duration, desolated the country for eight months; from the beginning of September, 1836, to the end of the following April, not a drop of rain fell.** The cattle were perishing in hundreds; most of the wells, even in the vicinity of the sea, were dry, and water became very scarce for the uses of the people.*

*

The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China, and Australasia, Volume 23, Wm. H. Allen and Co. - 1839

THE DISTURBANCES IN CANARA, IN 1837
(Correspondence between Mr. F. C. Brown, of Tellicherry and the Government of Madras)

*Mr. Brown describes the insurgents as "a simple, quiet, peaceable, inoffensive race," who were **"driven from their wilds and jungles" to commit riots by the oppressive effects of the Madras ryotwar revenue system—the commutation of the definite assessment in produce and kind upon their lands, which they had from time immemorial paid to their***

rajahs, into a fixed annual maximum assessment in money. *"The Gowdas and natives of the new districts had gone on paying for three years, or as long as they could pay, this new fixed maximum money assessment demanded from them,*

"The Gowdas and natives of the new districts had gone on paying for three years, or as long as they could pay, this ***new fixed maximum money assessment*** demanded from them, until, all their means of raising it from other sources being exhausted, they could pay it no longer. *They represented their inability to the collector's sheristedar, on his jummabundee arrival at Pootoor, in March; they said, money they had not, but there was their produce, let him take that, as their rajahs had always done (and let one single instance be proved of any native, in any part, refusing to pay his assessment in produce, as long as he has produce to pay).*

The sheristedar told them in reply, that he had nothing to do with their produce; that they must pay down in money, or, in default, their cattle and moveables should be attached and sold, and these failing, their lands, according to Regulation the assembled people, hearing or fearing the threat, exclaimed, What are we to do without our plough-cattle? how till our fields next rains? can we plough with nothing left but our hands and nails? Starve then, it is clear, we must next year; so we may as well be killed, and die at once. Where upon they seized their clubs and bill-hooks, seized the sheristedar and his fellow-servants at Pootoor; and having next succeeded in making the collector and a party of 150 sepoys retreat from thence in the middle of the night, they naturally deemed and reported themselves to be invincible."

This he states to have been the origin of the insurrection. The numbers of the insurgents he estimates at not more than five hundred in the first instance, "armed, some few with matchlocks, the rest with sticks and bill hooks." The attack on Mangalore, he asserts, was invited by the panic of the civil and military authorities, the insurgents having had, by their own confession, no intention of approaching the town till they heard that the Europeans and troops had deserted it.

*

Author's Note:

Here, **Fixed Annual Maximum Money Assessment** is mentioned as the 'oppressive taxation' responsible for the movement to take place. Therefore, it is deduced that the movement was the answer to the oppressive taxation, a flawed policy by a joint stock profit minded company that had taken over administration and also maintained a private army to run its business of international trade.

*

The Land-Assessment and the landed tenures of Canara; Charles Frederick Chamier; German Mission Press - 1853

Author's Note:

This book brings to light the taxation system in Tulunad, prior to the advent of European colonialism on this soil. The point of having these here, aside from the cause of *Fixed Annual Maximum Money Assessment*, is to parallelly facilitate an overview of the taxation system prevailing over this territory for aeons under the native power(s).

*

"Rice was the staple with reference to which the lands of Canara were assessed. If on the other hand the assessment were fixed in proportion to what the land was capable of producing, a cause of great inequality of assessment would still be retained, and it would be as difficult as before, to ascertain whether the land alone according to its quality was taxed, or also the anticipated industry and enterprize of the cultivator."

*

Author's note: A document dated 15 September 1831 supporting the theory of assessment through rice talks in detail about the units of measurement used for the purpose. The account goes on to mention that the foundation for the tax collection method prevalent until the colonization process of European powers had begun on the Indian soil. The record mentions Hari Hara Raya (co-founder of the Vijayanagara Empire) to have formulated a revenue collection method. From the mention, it is inferred that the revenue collection method since the period of Vijayanagara administration was modelled on the one formed initially by Hari Hara Raya. The following is the meaning of terms traditionally associated with land tenure. At the time of writing, Katty is not used as a uit of measurement.

*

Jumma: *The total Government revenue, or demand upon the lands of a village, or of a district.*

Jummahbundy: *The annual settlement of the Revenue or Government demand upon the lands of a village, or of a district, or of an individual Ryot.*

Katty: *A measure in use in the 14th Century when the existing assessment of Canara was fixed. It contained 40 hánis of 80 Rs. weight that is about 80 lbs.*

*

From the remotest times of which there is any record, till near the middle of the fourteenth century, land in Canara was assessed in Rice, at a quantity equal to the quantity of paddy sown. The revenue was sometimes collected in kind, and sometimes in money, at the discretion of the Sircar. Between the years 1334 and 1347, Hurry Hur Roy, the Rajah of Beejanugger, made a new assessment of the Province. Taking two and a half Katties of seed as the basis of the calculation, and assuming the produce to be to the seed, in the proportion of twelve to one, he apportioned the produce in the following manner:

To the Land-lord 71 Katties.

To the Cultivator or labourer . 15 Katties.

To the Sircar 7 Katties.

This settlement of Hurry Hur Roy, which is referred to in all subsequent accounts, and is the foundation of the present land-rent of Canara, was not made on actual measurement, but from the estimate of the quantity of seed reported to have been usually sown in each field, and the aggregrate of the assessment on fields, constituted the Jummah of each estate. Up to the year 1587, when the province came under the Bednore Dynasty, the Sircar rental remained with little alteration.

*

No additional assessment was imposed by the Bednore Government till the year 1618, when an extra assessment, equal to 50 per cent of the ancient land-rent, was laid on the whole of Canara, with the exception of the Hobly of Mangalore. The Beejanugger assessment, with all additions down to the year 1660 incorporated with it, had, for more than a century prior to the conquest of the country by the Princes of Mysore, been considered the Rekah, or standard rental of all the lands of the province, cultivated or waste.

*

Author's Note

Bednore refers to the Ikkeri/Keladi Dynasty. Beejanugger is the thickly accented utterance of Vijayanagara. Subsequent analysis reveals that the 'land - tax' was changed in the year 1819, *i.e.:* twenty years after Tulunad (South Canara) was annexed as an assessment paying territory of the British East India Co. Another change it is said was introduced in the year 1832, on the basis of the shortcomings of the 1819 found out by a Mr. Harris through an investigation. As per his estimate, the plan formed in the year 1832 had the potential of returning profits to the East India Co., twelve years after 1832!

*

Author's Note

The following explains one of the reasons the British East India Co. considered annexing Puttur and Sulya important.

*

"In 1834 the Talook of Poottoor formerly attached to the District and ceded to the Rajah of Coorg in 1804, with the two Maganies of Ummera and Sooleah originally

belonging to Coorg, were annexed to this Province, which led to a proportionate augmentation of the Land Revenue."

"The Addl. Sub: Collector also represented, that the possession of these Talooks was of material assistance in checking crime in the Northern part of lower Canara;-that the boundary proposed would consist of a range of uninhabited hills, covered with jungle, where it would be difficult for a divided police to prevent gangs of robbers from settling;-and that the administration of the Talooks in question supplied the Revenue Authorities with valuable information regarding the state of trade"

*

Accounts and Papers of the House of Commons, Volume 54; Great Britain, Parliament - House of Commons

Author's Note

When I was studying the records, I found the following information. Rather than being shocked about this, it is bewildering that the British Parliament's archives record Sulya's forests in incredible detail. It is ironic to note the line "**With careful conservation these forests will be a mine of wealth to Government in future years"** that appears under the heading of "Forest Conservancy in India!"

*

165. SOUTH CANARA.-All the tracts of forests in the plains of this district, except the Sooleay teak forests, are under the license and voucher system. They have been worked by Mr. Winter, who entered the department and took charge of this range in May last.

166. Contemplated Operations. The Puiswunni, a fine river which rises in Coorg, and runs through the Sampojee and Sooleay forests, and empties itself into the sea at Casser gode, south of Mangalore, is used for floating, but great difficulties and delays occur at several places where the rocks form regular barriers across the river at all seasons except the highest floods, when the floaters will not undertake operations. Mr. Winter has promised to undertake blasting operations at several of these places, and, if successfully carried out, it will be of the greatest benefit to the department. 1,000 rupees will be spent on these operations.

127. SOUTH CANARA.- This district is very rich in forest, and has an annual reproduction very far in excess of any present demand, or any demand that may be likely to spring up for many years, unless a railroad comes through the district. **With careful conservation these forests will be a mine of wealth to Government in future years.** Nearly the whole of the plains is studded over with valuable tracts of forests, which may be all considered as tracis under license and voucher; but the Sooleay teak forests and all the ghaut forests along the whole chain from Coorg and Malabar to the south up to the confines of North Canara may be considered as reserved forests, but will eventually have to be divided into first and second class.

128. The Sooleay Teak Forests. This is a fine tract of several square miles of indigenous teak of good growth, but still young. It is situated between Sooleay and Parapa, and has received much attention, as far as conservancy is concerned, for the last 10 years, or even since our department commenced operations in the district. Several lacs of teak

trees have annually been proned, and the growth of saplings fostered and the improvement of the forest is very marked and satisfactory, and all the trees have a fine straight growth, and a good many are 50 to 60 feet high and 4 to 5 feet in circumference. Blackwood of fine growth is also found in this tract, and much valuable jungle timber.

H.F. Winter,

Assistant Conservator of Forests, South Canara

*

Asia in the making of Europe; Volume III - A Century of Advance; Book Two: South Asia; Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley; The University of Chicago Press - 1998

Vincenzo Maria di Santa Caterina da Siena, a barefoot Carmelite from Rome, was on India's west coast during 1657-58. In his Viaggio (1672) Vincenzo expresses his admiration for the prosperity and order prevailing in the Hindu-controlled states, especially Kanara." All flat country and lying next to the sea, Kanara is densely populated right up to the mountains. ***Its land is irrigated by numerous rivers and so fertile that its farmers harvest copious crops of high quality rice three times annually. They gather the grubs of silk worms and make so much material that even the common people wear silk.*** *In the dense jungles they feed herds of animals. Their forests are full of peacocks as well as many wild beasts, mostly tigers and monkeys of extraordinary size and numbers. The roads are so well constructed that they resemble garden paths, being flat, spacious, and lined with shrubs. Every so often one finds a*

refreshment stand maintained at the king's expense where sour milk and pure water are freely offered to the traveler. No matter how much treasure is carried, it is always safe to travel in Kanara. Its people look out for the travelers' well-being because they fear the royal ire should a traveler be set upon. Its farmers produce rice which is exported to foreign marts as far away as Acheh in Sumatra and Mozambique.

*

Vol. III Coorg, Mysore and Coorg: Coorg, A Gazetteer compiled for the Government of India, Benjamin Lewis Rice, Mysore Government Press - 1878

Author's note: Under the title Appendix II of B.L. Rice's compiled Gazetteer is the detail of the Keladi/Ikkeri Dynasty. Wherein he quotes Col Wilks, who had said that Keladi Sadashiva Nayaka, the second ruler of the Keladi lineage (1513 to 1545) had brought under his control, the territory of Tulunadu (mentioned as Tuluva with respect to this context - *"The second Raja, Sadasiva (1513-1545) conquered all the rebellious palegars or petty Rajas of Canara and brought them under the dominion of Bijanagar. Sadasiva then subjugated Tuluva (South Canara) as far as Cassergode, where he erected a stone pillar set to mark the boundary. The inscriptions commemorating his conquests are still extant in Cassergode on the banks of the Chandragiri river, between a mosque of the Mapillas and a pagoda of the Hindus.").*

[Note: Bijanagar is the thickly accented utterance of Vijayanagara.]

The book also speaks on a Mr F.M. Mascarenhas who had written 'the History of Canara,' which it is said he had done by studying inscriptions from Bednore (present day Nagara, a historic village in Shivamogga). Ample references to the words - Tuluva, Tulu country and Tulunad are observed in the compiled gazetteer. My reading of this particular work led me to learn that the word "Tuluva Desam" (modern Canara) finds mention in many 19th-century literary works.

Other matters found out through this gazetter is that a 1743 publication described Bednore as "the granary of all northern India" and also that Bednore was known for its abundance of sandalwood and rice back then. An interesting incident between Keladi Shivappa Nayaka and Muddu Raja of the Haleri Dynasty is highlighted in the gazette. This is where Sulya gets the highlight. Upon departing after meeting, Keladi Shivappa Nayaka it is said had asked Muddu Raja to be presented with a favour of any kind. Although Muddu Raja had replied that he had everything that he needed, upon Shivappa Nayaka's persistent request, Muddu Raja opened up about not having a son who would succeed him. Here is what happened afterward.

*

"Thereupon Sivappa Nayak, meditating on the deity of Ramesvara, caused a golden lamp with feet to be made, which he lighted, putting in ghee, and gave it to the Raja of Coorg, enjoining him to maintain the flame for a year and a day, by which time he should be blessed with offspring. Muddu Raja taking the lamp, departed to his own country, where having obeyed the injunctions given to him, before a year was ended

his wife bore him a son. Sivappa Nayak was highly gratified to receive this intelligence, as well as the presents sent by the Coorg Raja on the occasion, and in token of his pleasure bestowed some part of Sulya upon the child (Dodda Virappa) to provide him with milk."

*

Author's Note

According to Benjamin Lewis Rice's compiled gazetteer, this is how Sulya's administration passed from the Keladi Dynasty to the Haleri Dynasty. The following is an account of how the British East India Co. had begun devouring land in India.

*

The Chingleput, late Madras, district, a manual; Charles Stewart Crole; Lawrence Asylum Press - 1879

"It should be mentioned that the East India Company had, prior to the cession of the jaghire, become possessed of what was long known as the Home Farms. These consisted of a few villages round the area comprising the original grant for building Fort St. George, which were eventually separated, along with one or two other villages, from the jaghire in 1799, and were at first managed by the Board of Revenue, but were shortly afterwards placed under a separate officer."

"Another matter in which this district like the rest of Dravidam aud Tondeimandalam, differed from the rest of India, and which distinctive feature it retained longer than the others, in point of fact until after the English system of

management had been introduced, was that the revenue on wet land and almost always on dry also, was paid in kind. Although a money assessment, or tirvei, was established for all the lands in the Tuluva and Carnatic provinces of the Vijiyanagar State, being either levied on each village, on each estate as in Canara (shist), or on each field (tirvei), this system was never extended to Tondeimandalam, where the ancient system of division of the crop (varam), according to the local circumstances, remained intact through every change of dynasty."

***

CHAPTER - 10
MEDAL

06 March 2020

National Army Museum, United Kingdom

Author's Note

This chapter revolves around the medal that was issued by the British East India Co. to all those that were loyal to the cause of the British in putting down the Amara Sulya moment. Thanks to National Army Museum of the United Kingdom the image and footnote on the medal called the Coorg Medal was made available. Also thanks to Mr. Jasdeep Singh, their research curator, who was kind enough to help by providing the following information from the collection of NAM, U.K. Upon further inquiry I was informed that, no Odi Katthis were in the possession of the NAM, U.K. at the time of my communication with them.

92. COORG MEDAL
Date: 1837.
Campaign: Coorg rebellion 1837.
Branch of Service: HEIC loyal Coorg forces.
Ribbon: Yellow cord.
Metals: Gold, silver or bronze.
Size: 50mm.
Description: (Obverse) a Coorg holding a musket, with kukri upraised; (reverse) weapons in a wreath with the inscription FOR DISTINGUISHED CONDUCT AND LOYALTY TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT COORG, APRIL 1837, the equivalent in Canarese appearing on the obverse.
Comments: Native troops who remained loyal during the Canara rebellion of April-May 1837 were awarded this medal by the HEIC the following August. Bronze specimens were also struck but not officially issued and may have been restrikes or later copies. Bronzed and silvered electrotype copies are also known.
VALUE:
Gold (44)
Silver (300)
Bronze
Original striking
£5000–8000
£1500–1800
£300–400
Later striking
—
£400–500
—

Picture Courtesy: Jasdeep Singh, Research Curator (NAM, U.K.)

Author's Note

Upon further study of materials, I was able to find out that, Mr. W. Daniell, R.A. was the person that had designed the medal. [Arthur Jocelyn (1956). Awards of Honour The Orders, Decorations, Medals, and Awards of Great Britain & the Commonwealth, from Edward III to Elizabeth II]. Here are some more information pertaining to the medal.

*

From Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge - Loyalty was immediately rewarded by the East India Company with this issue of this medal, of which about 250 were struck, to the loyal people of the Kanara area. The medals were issued unnamed, and so the recipient's identity is unknown.

*

War Medals of the British Army, and how They Were Won; Thomas Carter, William Henry Long; Norie and Wilson - 1893

"The East India Company, in 1837, gave a medal to the chiefs of the loyal Coorgs, who had suppressed an insurrection in the Canara country. The two principal Dewans each received a gold medal and chain, valued at 400 rupees; twelve Subadars, medals valued at 200 rupees each; twenty medals, without chains; and ten, valued at 50 rupees each, were given to leaders who had distinguished themselves; and two hundred silver medals, without chains, of the value of 10 rupees each, were bestowed on the inferior leaders and distinguished Ryots."

"On the obverse is a Coorg warrior in a fighting attitude, surrounded by an inscription in Canarese,"

"The medals were struck at the Calcutta Mint, and are two inches each in diameter, but of varying thickness."

*

Author's Note

The book, Medals and Decorations of the British Army and Navy by John Horsley Mayo (published in the year 1897) contains the correspondence between various British officers regarding the medal, from its making and transportation till the recipient to wom it had to be finally delivered. The following is the copy of the same.

From Appendix E.

Coorg Medal, 1837

INDIA POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS, 28th August, 1837. No. 80.

'From the Commissioner in Coorg,

'To

'W. H. Macnaghten, Esq.,
Secretary to the Govt. of India, Fort William.

'Sir,

'1. I have had the honor to receive your several letters of the dates noted in the margin, containing the favorable sentiments of the Right Hon. the Governor-General of India in Council with regard to the conduct of Captain Le Hardy, the Superintendent of Coorg, of the Dewans and of the Coorgs generally in connection with the operations undertaken for the suppression of the late insurrection in Canara, and adding that His Lordship in Council expects to receive from me such suggestions as I may think it right to offer with a view of marking the sense entertained by Govt. of the zeal, devotion and fidelity evinced by that high-minded people on the above occasions, and communicating to me at the same time authority for the distribution among the Coorgs of the Pretender's Treasure captured by them, in such manner as I may deem most proper.

22nd May.
5th June.
5th June.

'2. In obedience to these instructions I perform a highly gratifying duty in proceeding to offer such suggestions with regard to the most suitable way of carrying the intention of Govt. into effect as have occurred to me after mature consideration, aided by Captain Le Hardy's judgment and local experience in the feelings and habits of the people.

'3. As a necessary preliminary to the subject before me it is my duty to report for the information of His Lordship in Council, that in pursuance of the authority conveyed to me in your letter above alluded to, to distribute to the Coorgs the amount of Prize Money captured by them from the Pretender during their operations in Amur Sooled, I requested Captain Le Hardy to communicate the pleasure of Govt. to the Dewans and people generally, and to leave it to themselves to devise any plan that might appear the most advisable for dividing the amount among those entitled to share.

'4. The copy of Captain Le Hardy's reply with translations of its accompaniments herewith transmitted, will serve to display the character of this so justly designated high-minded people in a point of view in which it may be said without fear of contradiction they stand unrivalled among the nations of India, while at the same time the sentiments expressed in the Urzee of the Dewans and other Coorg officers give confirmation of the profession of fidelity and devotion made in their unanimous address to the Superintendent of Coorg at the first outbreak of the insurrection, and fully redeemed by their uniform display of the most ardent zeal and good conduct, first, under the Dewan Poonapah, and subsequently under Bopoo in Amur Soolya.

'5. His Lordship in Council after the proofs already given of the noble disinterestedness of these brave mountaineers will perhaps be prepared for the announcement that the Coorgs respectfully solicit permission to decline accepting any part of the captured Treasure, while they express themselves deeply sensible of the high approbation of their conduct which the Order of Govt. assigning it to them has conveyed.

'6. The high tone of feeling and discrimination evinced by the Coorgs in the distinction drawn between the captured Treasure in question (only restored as they conceive through their instrumentality to the British Govt. from which it had been plundered) and Booty, the actual property of the Insurgents, had such fallen into their hands, in which last they declare they could cheerfully and consistently have participated, cannot fail to attract the notice of the Governor-General in Council.

'7. Feeling conscious that I should be acting in the spirit of the orders which I had received as to the appropriation of the sum captured, and equally confident that the respectful solicitation of the Coorgs to be permitted to decline receiving it would meet the ready compliance of the Governor-General in Council, I have ventured to anticipate His Lordship's sanction by calling upon Captain Le Hardy to propose some other method of carrying the wish of Govt. into effect, which, while it may not disturb that delicate sense of reputation and of duty and attachment to their Rulers which has influenced the Coorgs in declining the boon in its present shape, may serve to convince them that while their self-denying fidelity is duly appreciated, the sentiments of the Govt. towards them remain unchanged.

'8. I have accordingly received from Captain Le Hardy a Memorandum, copy of which is annexed, in which he proposes to appropriate the amount captured in the purchase of Broad Cloth Turbands and Medals for certain of the Coorg Officers and Ryots who most distinguished themselves, with the present of a shawl and a handsome Gold Medal with Chain to each of the Dewans, and as Capt. Le Hardy has ascertained that a grant of this kind would prove highly gratifying to the feelings of the several classes concerned, I have the honor respectfully to recommend the proposal for the consideration and sanction of his Lordship in Council.

'9. Having thus offered my suggestions on the question of the Prize Money, I now beg leave to submit some observations and proposals in regard to the mode of more permanently and substantially marking the sense entertained of the gallantry and

stedfast attachment to the interests of the British Govt. manifested by the Coorgs under circumstances so trying and so triumphantly demonstrative of their true loyalty and devotion.

. . . . . .

'18. I would farther beg respectfully to solicit that His Lordship in Council may be pleased to permit me to distribute in His Lordship's name to such of the Coorgs as particularly distinguished themselves 25 Double-barrelled flint fowling-pieces, a description of reward which I have been assured would be highly prized by those receiving them, and transmitted with pride to their children.

'19. I would also urge a special plea for the Coorg Subadar Monien, who, though near 70 years of age, led on his men in one of the first attacks made on the rebels in Umur Soolya, and slew his antagonist in single combat, but being inconsolable for the loss on this occasion of a sword which had been given to him by the great Raja Veerajunder, I have ventured in anticipation of his Lordship's sanction to promise him another in the name of the Governor-General, and I would respectfully solicit that I may be furnished with a handsome one for this purpose.

. . . . . .

'M. CUBBON,
Commissioner for Coorg.

'BANGALORE,
4th August, 1837.'

1

'The COMMISSIONER IN COORG,

'to

'W. H. MACNAGHTEN, Esq.,

'Secretary with the Governor-General, Head-Quarters.

'SIR,

'In transmitting extract of a letter from the Superintendent of Coorg, in which he encloses a Device for the medals authorised in the 2nd para. of your letter of 28th August, 1837, to be presented to the Coorgs for their loyalty and gallant conduct during the late insurrection in Canara, I have the honor respectfully to solicit the authority of the Right Hon. the Governor-General of India for Gold and Silver Medals to the extent and the value specified in the Memo. herewith forwarded, being struck off in the Mint in Calcutta, according to the Device proposed, should His Lordship approve of it, for Capt. Le Hardy seems to anticipate both great delay and difficulty in having the requisite number completed in Coorg, while I am disposed to attach importance to as early a distribution of them as may be found practicable.

'2. The Canarese characters which form the motto on the *obverse* side of the medallion being very small and almost illegible by persons not versed in the language, I have had the transcript of the motto which accompanies this prepared in large letters, which, while they will serve to guide the engraver in forming them, I apprehend he will find no difficulty in again reducing to a size adapted to the Medal.

'3. By the 3d para. of Capt. Le Hardy's letter now forwarded, it will be observed that the horses sanctioned in your letter, quoted above, have been presented to the Coorg Chiefs for whom they were designed, and that they have expressed their deep sense of gratitude for the favor thus conferred upon them by the Government of India.'

'I have, etc.,

'M. CUBBON,

Commissioner.

'BANGALORE,

8th May, 1838.'

INDIA POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS, 30th May, 1838. No. 201.

Extract of a letter from the Superintendent of Coorg to the Officiating Secretary to the Commissioner for the affairs of Coorg.

'*30th April*, 1838.

'1. I have the honor with reference to the 3d para. of the Commissioner's letter of 3rd Oct. last, to enclose for his approval the drawing of a proposed medal for presentation to the Coorgs.

'2. I was in hopes that I should have been able to get the Medals prepared in Coorg, but owing to the illness of the workman who had undertaken to make them up, I now fear very much that it will be impossible for me to do so, and I beg therefore to be favored with the instructions of the Commissioner on the subject.'

. . . . . .

No. 202.

'*Memo. of Medals required for the Coorgs.*

'2 Gold Medals for the Dewans to weigh about 9 Gold Mohurs each.

12 do. to weigh about 7 Gold Mohurs each.

30 do. to weigh about 4 Gold Mohurs each.

300 Silver Medals—ordinary thickness—to weigh about 10 Rupees each.

'All the Medals to be two inches in diameter and to be reduced in thickness so as to equal the weights specified.

'M. CUBBON,

Commissioner.'

D (Cons. No. 84).

'MEMORANDUM by CAPTAIN LE HARDY of the mode in which it is proposed to appropriate to the Coorgs the amount captured by them from the Pretender during the insurrection in Amer Soolya.

No.	Articles to be Purchased or Manufactured.	Rate.	Amount.
2	Gold Medals with chains for the 2 Dewans, each Rs. 400, .	800	
12	Do. with do. for Subadars and other principal chiefs at Rs. 200 each, ...	2400	
20	Do. without chains for Parpullegars and others: at Rs. 120 each, ...	2400	
10	Do. without chains for Jummah Ryots who specially distinguished themselves: at Rs. 50 each, .	500	
200	Silver Medals without chains for inferior Leaders and distinguished Ryots at Rs. 10 each, ...	2000	
			Rs. 8100

'C. F. LE HARDY,
Superintendent of Coorg.'

(ENCLOSURE.)

'To J. CURRIN, Esq.,
'Officiating Secretary to the Mint Committee.

'SIR,

'In compliance with the instructions communicated in Mr. Officiating Secretary J. Dorin's letter of 19th Nov., 1838, I have the honor to forward herewith three Boxes of Medals, 2 containing 300 Silver Medals, and 1 containing 44 Gold Medals, for distribution amongst the Coorg Chiefs.

'The expense incurred in their preparation, including the intrinsic value of the Metal, is Co.'s Rs. 5893.12, viz. for the Gold Medals Co.'s Rs. 3550, or for each Gold one of 9 Tolas 140
of 7 do. 110
and of 4 do. 65
for the Silver Medals, Co.'s Rs. 2343.12—or for each, 7.13. The total amount Co.'s Rs. 5893.12—will be carried to the debit of Govt. on account Coorg Medals in the Books of the Mint.

'I have, etc.,

'W. N. FORBES,
Mint Master.

'CALCUTTA,
22nd August, 1839.'

'To the CHIEF SECRETARY,
'Fort St. George.

'SIR,

'I am directed to request that the three small Box packets, containing Coorg Medals, which have been despatched to Madras by the *Enterprize* Steamer, under the custody of Captain West, may be forwarded to Colonel Cubbon, at Bangalore, for distribution under his orders.

'2. Captain West has been instructed to deliver the packets to you.

'I have, etc.,

'H. T. PRINSEP,
Sec. to Govt. of India.

'FORT WILLIAM,
27th Nov., 1839.'

No. 83.

'Ordered that the following reply be returned to the above:—

'To the MINT COMMITTEE.

'GENTLEMEN,

'I am directed by the Hon. the President in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated 29th ult., together with 3 boxes containing 300 Silver and 44 Gold Medals for distribution amongst the Coorg Chiefs.

'2. I reply I am desired by His Honor in Council to state that the Medals will be forwarded to the Commissioner in Coorg by the first favorable opportunity that may offer.

'I have, etc.,

'H. T. PRINSEP,
Secretary to Govt. of India, Political Dept.

'FORT WILLIAM,
4th Sept., 1839.'

No. 13.

'To COLONEL CUBBON, Commissioner in Coorg.

'SIR,

'I am directed to forward you the enclosed copies of Correspondence with the Mint Committee of Calcutta, and to inform you that the Medals referred to have been sent by the *Enterprize* Steamer to Madras, and the Commander of that vessel has been instructed to deliver them to the Chief Secretary at that Presidency for transmission to you.

'I have, etc.,

'H. T. PRINSEP,
Sec. to Govt. of India.

'FORT WILLIAM,
27th Nov., 1839.'

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- Südasien-Chronik - South Asia Chronicle 6/2016, S. 11-36 © Südasien-Seminar der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin ISBN: 978-3-86004-324-0 -- Butas and Daivas as Justices in Tulu Nadu: Implications for the Philosophy of Law MICHAEL DUSCHE

Anindith Gowda Kochi Baarike is a media graduate working for a private advertising agency in Mangaluru. His upbringing and education were both in Mangaluru. He hails from the traditional Tuluva manor house of the Kochi Baarike titular lineage, located around the intersection between Puttur and Sulya taluks in Dakshina Kannada District of Karnataka (near Bellare, the birthplace of the movement). It is as though the connection to the past remains intact through his bloodline.

He felt the history was obscure due to the links, recollections from back home, and the folklore surrounding the 1837 movement. Observing this peculiar martial trait in his surroundings led him to trace the history. His journey took him on unexpected turns, which led him to record and share his observations. He is the first student from his alma mater to have completed its first Undergraduate Student Research Project on Indian Warriors, their cultural influences on one another and their quality of being unlike others.

It is noteworthy that even at a tender age, he has demonstrated interest in studying primary sources of the history of 1837 and can present his study in the form of a book. On the occasion of Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav, as India celebrates its 75th year of Independence, Anindith's book tells the untold story of valour on Tuluva soil for India's freedom.

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